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GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

VOL. II.

LIFE

OF

REGORY THE SEVENTH

PRECEDED BY A

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE PAPACY
TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

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BY

M. ABEL FRANÇOIS VILLEMAIN

OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

TRANSLATED BY JAMES BABER BROCKLEY

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HISTORY

OF

GREGORY THE SEVENTH.

BOOK IV.

1075–1077.

MEANTIME the young king of Germany, having learned wisdom by his misfortunes, endeavoured to strengthen his position, and to dissolve the league of the great nobles, by stirring up jealousies between them, and thus to gain some over to his own cause. He seems to have conciliated the most ambitious and powerful of his vassals, Rudolf of Rinfelden, who was soon after to become a competitor for his crown, but of whose valuable assistance he thought for awhile he had succeeded in depriving the Saxons. He gained over many of the other seigneurs by presents and promises, and secured the alliance of the Duke of Bohemia and the King of Denmark; and further, pausing for no scruples in his hate, he supplied a new motive for the infliction of the anathemas of the Church by sending emissaries to stir up the pagan inhabitants of Upper Lusatia, to make predatory incursions into the territory of Christian Saxony.

At the same time he sought to disunite the principal families of that martial province itself, and to win over by gifts and promises some of the chiefs who had taken part in the late revolt. As the most considerable of these Saxon families possessed among them fiefs in Henry's hereditary kingdom, they either in reality or in appearance took separate sides, so as not to run the risk of losing all their property; thus some of the sons of brothers of the same house ranged themselves on the king's side, while the rest remained faithful to what they called the rights and freedom of their country.

Henry succeeded, moreover, by his presents and prodigal promises, in attaching to his cause many of those bishops whose authority had most powerfully aided the Saxons in the beginning of their revolt. The rumour of the king's activity, and of the defection of many of the chiefs, began to be noised abroad in the country. The nobility, divided among themselves, lost heart. Sinister predictions were spread among the people: it was reported that in many of the churches the image of Christ had been found covered with a cold sweat, that the Bishop of Magdeburg, while celebrating mass, had seen the host drop down to the bottom of the chalice, in the likeness of flesh, and that a priest in his diocese had also found blood in the cup instead of wine.

The Archbishop of Magdeburg then wrote to Siegfried, Bishop of Mayence, a letter, whose humble language attested the uneasiness experienced by the Saxon nobles: and he entreated him to turn aside the wrath of the king, and at least to obtain from him that before ravaging their land by war he would summon an

assembly to judge the seigneurs for the wrongs of which they complained.

Similar letters were sent from Saxony to all the princes who were about Henry; but the king, full of the remembrance of the insult he had experienced, and putting himself at the head of a numerous army, had but one reply, namely, that the Saxons should surrender at discretion. They then began to take up arms, but without relinquishing the hope of appeasing Henry.

While the Saxons, thus enfeebled and discouraged, slowly prepared for resistance, aid was preparing for them in distant Italy. Gregory VII. had convoked a council at Rome, giving as a reason the unfortunate troubles in the Church, and the unbridled audacity of its enemies. 'He hoped,' he said, 'by spiritual courage, as well as by worldly prudence, to force the emperor to renounce this undertaking, and to settle the Christian religion in its pristine liberty and in peace.' It was soon seen what he meant by these expressions. In this council, which assembled on February 23, 1075, and lasted till the end of the month, the pontiff did not limit himself to suspending the bishops of Germany and Lombardy, and renewing the decrees for the celibacy of priests: he directly attacked the power exercised by all sovereigns of bestowing the investiture of bishoprics and abbeys, and formally prohibited a custom of which the Church had hitherto blamed only the venality. Fifty bishops and a great number of priests and abbots present at this council proclaimed the following decree:—

'Whosoever henceforth shall receive from the hands of a lay person any bishopric or abbey shall no longer be

reckoned among the number of the bishops and abbots. We deny him entrance into the Church and the grace of Saint Peter until he shall have abandoned the place he shall in such means have taken, that is to say, out of ambition and disobedience, sins like unto idolatry. We ordain the same touching ecclesiastical dignities of the second order. And further, if any emperor, duke, marquis, count, or other of the secular powers, dare to confer the investiture of a bishopric or any other dignity in the Church, let him know that he shall incur the anathema.'

In attacking this right of princes, the pontiff must have foreseen the struggle in which he was about to engage, and we may well suppose that both his courage and his ambition paused awhile. In entering on this new path, in making this claim, that involved so many perils and obstacles, he would be obliged to abandon another project that suited well his ardent spirit—the idea of a crusade of the powers of the West to deliver the Christians of Greece and Asia. All these anxieties and these wishes, all these regrets, are expressed in a letter to Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, his old friend, one of the most eminent churchmen of the time, and one of the most influential at the court and in the disturbed counsels of Henry.

'I am,' he says, 'weighed down with heavy grief and sadness. The Eastern Church has wandered from the Catholic faith, and the devil, having destroyed it spiritually, now casts its members on the swords of the infidels, so that they by divine grace repent not. Whether I look to the west, the south, or the north, I find scarcely a single bishop whose appointment has

been legitimate, whose conduct blameless, governing the Christian peoples out of love for Christ, and not worldly ambition. As to the secular princes, I know not one who seeks God's glory rather than his own, who prefers the law of justice to his own interest. Those among whom I dwell, the Romans, the Lombards, and the Normans, are, as I often tell them, worse than Jews and pagans. And when I consider myself, I feel so oppressed with the burden of my life that all that remains to me is my hope of help through the mercy of Christ. For, if I did not hope to arrive at a better state of things, and to serve the Church, I would not remain in Rome, where I have lived, contrary to my own wishes, for the last twenty years. So, between this sorrow which is renewed daily and this hope so long deferred, beaten as by a tempest, I die rather than live.'

But while the pontiff thus confided to his friend the grief and discouragement of his ardent soul, he renewed his claim to Hungary as a fief of the Holy See; his secret emissaries kept up the courage of the Saxons, and his new decree as to the investitures, which robbed all Christian kings of a portion of their power, was transmitted to each one of them.

Henry, in receiving these decrees, was thoroughly sensible of the new blow aimed at him by the pontiff; but, fully engaged in his preparations for the expedition he was to undertake, he thought it well neither to cede this new claim made by the Pope nor entirely to break with him.

Meantime, the chiefs who had remained faithful to the wrongs of the Saxons as a nation, were anxious, before again rising in revolt, to make some attempt to

disarm Henry's resentment, and to interest the rest of Germany in their cause.

On Easter Day, 1075, while the king was present at High Mass in the Cathedral of Mayence, a Saxon envoy, bearer of supplicating letters to the king, which he suddenly held out to the archbishop as he was ascending to the pulpit, entreated him, for the love of God, to read them aloud to the people. Henry forbade the reading, and the Saxon envoy hastened to let the people know the contents of these letters in a few words, and entreated all who feared God not thus to come and ravage Saxony before they knew if it was in fault; but the Saxon's voice was drowned in the general clamour; and Rudolph and the other princes who were nearest to Henry's person entreated him to take vengeance on a rebellious people.

The Saxons, who were still suffering from the effects of their late defeat, and from the defection of some of their ancient supporters, made still further attempts to conciliate Henry by sending other envoys; but the only reply the prince gave, was, that he was willing to pardon the Bishop of Magdeburg, on condition of the surrender of the Bishop of Alberstadt, Otho, the former Duke of Bavaria, and the other principal chiefs. They consented to appear before a tribunal composed of the princes of Saxony and Germany; but the king insisted on having them in his own power. The Saxons then, driven to extremity, once more took up arms, and the king advanced to Bredingen, where his army was assembled.

The Saxon army was lying a few leagues thence, still hoping for peace. The king, by a rapid march, coun-

selled by Rudolph, fell on them unawares, dispersed them after an obstinate and bloody combat, and took their camp.

It was noticed, however, that the greater number of nobles and seigneurs fell on the king's side; the Saxons lost the most peasants and soldiers. The king followed up his victory by ravaging Saxony: the inhabitants had fled into the forests, whither Henry prepared to pursue them, but, in order that he might have nothing to dread from the Church during this war, he despatched to Rome two seigneurs of his Court, accredited to the pontiff by the following letter:—

'Be it known unto you, Most Holy Father, that having perceived the inclination of almost all the nobles in my kingdom to rejoice in our discords rather than in our mutual alliance, I send you secretly these two messengers, who are known to me for noble and religious men, and who, I am well assured, earnestly desire the consolidation of peace between us. I wish that none should know what I tell you through them, except yourself, my mother, my aunt Beatrice, and her daughter Matilda. As soon as, by God's help, I return from the expedition into Saxony, I will send to you other messengers, chosen amongst my most intimate and faithful friends, and I will explain to you through them all my intentions, and renew my expression of the veneration that I owe to blessed Peter and to you.'

The seigneurs who were the bearers of this letter were warned that if the second embassy should be slow in coming they must not be surprised, but prolong their stay and await its arrival, for that the king would surely send it.

Henry nevertheless pressed the hostilities that had been resumed with such vigour, and advancing through Saxony, he carried several towns by assault, with all its horrors. The women, who took refuge in the churches, were violated and murdered. Such of the nobles and bishops as had remained staunch to the Saxon cause were quartered in different castles, whence they despatched new embassies to the king.

The Bishop of Magdebourg wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Wurzburg, Henry's minister, demanding once more that the king should, after such blood-shedding, now do what he should have done before drawing the sword, namely, that he should name a place and call a diet to judge the complaints he had to make against the Saxon chiefs. 'Let us,' wrote he, 'confer with you and the dukes Rudolph, Berthold, and Gottfried. We are ready to submit on all points in which we shall appear blameworthy to the judgment of your prudence. No pagan was ever seen to be so cruel as to determine, when a people can be conquered without fighting, to attack them by force of arms, to the peril of their souls and to those of his own men. If there had been,' continues the prelate, 'none but laymen in this army, they would, perhaps, have spared the churches and ecclesiastical property, but as there were many bishops nothing is spared.'

Henry, however, remained inflexible to all such prayers. Re-entering as a conqueror into that same city of Goslar which he had been obliged to quit almost by stealth fifteen months before, he refused even the entreaties of his friends that he would grant peace to Saxony. An imperious necessity alone occasioned him

to withdraw ; supplies for his army failed, for the country was exhausted. Henry then retired, with the intention of returning in the month of October to carry off the corn which he left to ripen. These four months' respite restored courage to the Saxons, and in the interval great changes took place among the partisans and allies of the king. He soon perceived that the seigneurs who had so powerfully seconded his army might be likely enough not to lend him the same support on another occasion, and he resolved to come down upon Saxony in a new direction, and with other auxiliaries. He directed his march towards the mountains of Bohemia, inhabited by ferocious tribes, almost all still pagan, and less submitted to his authority than ready to follow him in a war of invasion and pillage. Strengthened by their succour, he threw himself on Saxony and devastated the land. The troops of the country, assembled in haste, marched against his army in the hope of surrounding it; but he escaped their attack, and continued his ravages, returning to Bohemia so as to be at the time and place he had appointed for the meeting of his allies, namely, December 31, 1075, to rush on with them to new depredations.

The bishops and counts who came to his rendezvous were many. Gottfried, Matilda's husband, and Henry's faithful vassal, had brought with him a band of brilliant and well-armed troops ; but the dukes Rudolph of Suabia and Berthold of Carinthea were absent. They sent word by a messenger that, touched by the grace of God, they scrupled to second the king in the exercise of his implacable wrath against an innocent people ; and, all through their principalities and domains they

caused a public fast to be observed, and made a vow no more to take up arms in this war.

Weakened by this new defection, Henry became less implacable, and at last consented, in compliance with the repeated request of the Saxons, to send them the Archbishop of Mayence, three bishops of his party, and the Duke Gottfried, to hear them and treat with them. Having reached the Saxon camp, the king's deputies declared that the rebel chiefs owed reparation to Henry, and could only make it by placing themselves at his mercy; but that they pledged themselves the king would respect their honour and their liberty. The Saxons shuddered at this demand, for they dreaded the king's violent temper, having before their eyes the marks of his cruelties during his last invasion of their country; and this spectacle dispirited them. After long hesitation, they committed themselves to the king's deputies, and Henry promised by oath to do nothing against the Saxon chiefs without the consent and advice of the princes who had contributed to his victory by their efforts.

The deputies also pledged themselves by oath that the seigneurs of Saxony and Thuringia should suffer no injury in their persons or their fiefs; and that as soon as they should, by their voluntary submission, have made satisfaction to the majesty of the King of Germany they should be restored to their liberty and their country, without the loss of any of their privileges. On these conditions, and in spite of their own distrust and the grief of their most zealous partisans, the Saxon leaders at last consented to place themselves in Henry's hands.

This put an end to the war, and was a great triumph for the young king: the surrender was accomplished thus.

The king, surrounded by his bishops and princes, was seated in the midst of a vast plain, near the town of Spires: his troops were ranged at some distance, leaving a great space unoccupied, and which none could traverse without being seen by the whole army. Through it advanced, one after the other, the princes of Saxony and Thuringia, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Bishop of Alberstadt, Otho, the former Duke of Bavaria: and they came to give themselves up to the king. Henry received them, and handed them over to the keeping of the princes by whom he was surrounded; but, very soon afterwards, in contempt of his oaths, he exiled the greater number of them either to Bavaria, Burgundy, or Lombardy, and seized on their lands, in order to divide them among such of his followers as had the best pleased him. He plundered even some Saxon lords who had taken no part in the revolt, and enriched many of his favourites, and particularly Ulrich of Cosheim, with their spoils.

Then, having made sure of the remaining towns and castles in Saxony, he disbanded his army, and repaired to the city of Worms to celebrate his victory.

This success, which Henry was not slow to abuse, had checked the pride of the vassals who were jealous of his power, and Gregory VII. himself softened his language towards the victorious young prince. He wrote felicitating him on his zeal in repressing simony and maintaining the celibacy of the clergy. He conferred on him that title of emperor which had been hitherto withheld, and, in order to signify his

intention to put an end to future disputes, he used these affectionate words:—'I am ready to receive thee into the bosom of the Catholic Church as a son and a brother, and to offer thee all needful assistance, asking nothing of thee but to listen to the voice of the Church.' The pontiff added: 'If the pride of the Saxons who unjustly resisted your authority has been by the judgment of God dashed in pieces before you, we must rejoice therein for the peace of the Church, and grieve thereat because of much Christian blood that was shed. Be careful on this occasion to defend the honour and interests of God, rather than to seek your own, for a prince is safer in punishing many evil doers for justice' sake than to strike one single Christian with the edge of the sword for that of his own glory.'

For all this friendly speech, Gregory haughtily persevered in deposing many of the bishops of Germany, who were charged with violence or simony, but who were especially guilty in his eyes as being faithful to Henry.

Hermann, bishop of the strong town of Bamberg, had during the Saxon war aided the king's cause by his wealth and by his public exhortations. Gregory VII., taking advantage of a dispute that arose between this prelate and the canons of his Church, decided against and suspended him. Hermann then abstained from the service of the altar, but as he remained master of the bishopric, Gregory VII. pressed Henry to dismiss him. He did so; but he filled his place with a priest of his own choosing, and who was entirely devoted to him. Such a proceeding sufficiently indicated that the victorious young king did not intend

to recognise the decree of the Pope relative to the ecclesiastical investitures. In fact, there was no further talk of the embassy which, on the renewal of the troubles in Saxony, Henry had promised to send to Rome. Instead of the secret and amiable negotiation which he had appeared to desire, he now wished to discuss in public the pretensions of the Roman Church, and thought himself powerful enough to reject them. He therefore signified his intentions to Beatrice and to Matilda and to his true vassals in Italy; and at the same time Gottfried, by order of his prince, made new attempts to bring Matilda to his own court.

The part which Gottfried had played in the rapid expedition into Saxony may for a moment have touched Matilda's proud spirit. This deformed and despised husband had covered himself with glory; Henry's proposal to negotiate publicly with the Pope seemed, moreover, just and natural. The two princesses seconded his request to the pontiff in a letter, in which they also consulted him as to the answer they should themselves give to Gottfried. Gregory was almost offended at this letter, which appeared to him a token of doubt and weakness. 'We are not,' replied he, 'a little surprised that you should have thought there was room for a consultation on the subjects you speak of in your letter.'

And then transcribing the very expression the king had addressed to him by his first envoys, who were still at Rome, and also his formal requests for a secret friendly negotiation, 'We are profoundly astonished,' says he, 'that he should have so greatly changed his mind, and that he should now wish to make public

what he intended to keep hidden. This gives reason to think that he nowise desires the peace that he now proposes to make in presence of those from whom he at first wished to conceal everything, and who, he himself said, rejoiced more over our discords than they would over our union. Know, then, that we will not consent to his requests, because this new proposition, so convenient for his interests, does not appear honourable to blessed Peter and to us.

'Let him come back to his first intention: it appears to us salutary and good to be followed. As to the counsel you ask of us touching the reply you shall return unto Gottfried, truly we know not what advice to give you, seeing that that man has openly violated all his oaths to you, and that we hold it impossible to trust to his promises. Still, if you like to make any agreement with him that does not involve any departure from the rule prescribed by the holy fathers, let it be so. If it may not be, we would have you to know that nothing can loosen or weaken the affection by which God has been pleased to unite us. Consequently, if Gottfried loves you, we will love him; but if by his own perversity he has taken a dislike to you, we, loving you with all our strength as our dear daughters, will by God's help resist him.'[1]

Gregory, in rejecting these new propositions of Henry's, made up his mind to attack him openly in the next council, and his language became more bold and menacing accordingly. Full of the one idea of combating the emperor, he relaxed his rigour towards the bishops of Lombardy, whom he had excommunicated.

[1] This letter is of the date of September, 1075.

He wrote to Thédald, the new Archbishop of Milan, who had been nominated by Henry, holding out a hope that his dignity would be confirmed if he came to Rome. To ensure the safety of the journey, he offered the protection of Beatrice and Matilda, through whose dominions he would have to pass, and promised him the liberty to return ; but at the same time he forbid him to allow himself to be consecrated. He reminded him that the power of all kings and emperors, and of all mortal efforts in presence of the rights apostolic and the omnipotence of God, are but as a feeble spark or a straw cast hither and thither by the wind.

In the fit of anger by which these words were dictated, Gregory VII., having learned that Henry had just disposed of the bishoprics of Spoleto and Ferino, sent two legates to summon the king to appear before the next council. Henry, all powerful in the centre of subjugated Saxony, had returned to Goslar to keep the feast of Christmas.

He had ordered thither the princes of the kingdom, to deliberate with them on the fate of the Saxon chiefs : and he took advantage of their presence to make them take a solemn oath never to acknowledge any other king but his son Conrad, who was still a little child.

Otho, formerly Duke of Bavaria, and who had had such a large share in creating the troubles in Saxony by going thither to seek refuge, came to make his submission to Henry, bringing with him his two sons as hostages. He was well received, and seems to have made rapid steps in the prince's favour, for Henry, who has been so loudly accused, was not implacable. He continued, however, to rule the ecclesiastical affairs of

his kingdom, as he did all others, by his absolute will; and he did not appear to be disposed to cede any of that power which the recent decrees of Gregory so haughtily claimed touching the investiture of the dignities and benefices of the Church. The order of things that had been so long followed was generally accepted by the people and the clergy, who themselves countenanced it, by soliciting the sovereign to make his nomination whenever a bishopric or abbacy fell vacant. At that very moment the deputies from the burgesses and clergy of Cologne had come to ask his authorisation to elect an archbishop to succeed the celebrated Hanno, who had just died, and who had filled such an important place at the court of the Empress Agnes, and during the minority of the young king.

It was in the midst of this combination of deferential homage to the power of Henry, and on the very scene of his recent victories, that the legates of the Pope presented themselves, and that they cited him to appear on the Monday of the second week in Lent before the council of Rome, on pain, in case of failure, of being cut off from the Church.

At this unexpected menace, Henry, young and proud as he was, could not restrain his indignation; he had the legates driven out with insults, and, resolving to return outrage for outrage, he, in his turn, ordered the convocation at Worms, on the third Sunday before Lent, of a council of all the bishops and abbots of his kingdom, in order to consult measures with them for the deposition of the Roman pontiff.[1]

[1] Objectis cum gravi contumelia legatis . . . . episcopos et abbates Wormatiæ dominica septuagesimæ convenire præcepit, tractare cum eis volens ad deponendum Romanum pontificem.—*Lamb Schaf.* p. 233.

By a singular coincidence, at the time, and almost the day, when the Pope's threat reached Henry in Goslar, he himself was dragged from the sanctuary in Rome. While the pontiff fulminated his anathemas abroad, he was not very safe in his own Church; and the spectacle of his so haughtily attacking the King of Germany, and imposing tribute on William the Conqueror, while he was liable to be surprised by the first brigand, is not the least striking contrast his life presents. But this attack, which was planned in revenge of the pontiff's firmness, depended on causes which we must glance at.

The existing disorder was due less to the rude licence of the Middle Ages than to the very nature of the pontifical power—a power bred of imagination and faith, without material force; an idol adored at a distance, but feeble and vulnerable in his temple. Our own times too often recal these occurrences of the barbarous ages for us to be at any loss to understand their nature. During many centuries the Roman barons—that is to say, the descendants of some Gothic chiefs or some native families falsely claiming ancient names, but possessing castles near Rome—had often laid exactions on the Church, and troubled the elections.

When there was no longer an Emperor, no King Theodoric, some Count of Toscanella or of Tibur, with the aid of a few hundred men-at-arms, had now and then either disposed of the tiara, or imprisoned the priest who had ventured to receive it in spite of them.

The domination of the kings of Germany, who were formidable suzerains and more powerful barbarians,

had not destroyed this feudality in the Campagna of Rome; and it appeared at intervals in the absence of the German lances. It often offered its services to the German kings, and received as payment the liberty to pillage with impunity. Still, it had grown weak since the far more powerful principalities of the Margrave Boniface and of Beatrice, and that of the Norman chiefs, had arisen in Tuscany and in Calabria respectively.

In presence of this power, the suburban castellans had changed from oppressors to malcontents, limiting themselves to levying some exactions at the sword's point and to the commission of some violences in the city. During the troubles anterior to Gregory VII., one among them, Cinci, son of Stephen, a former prefect of Rome, was distinguished by his audacity and his robberies. Taking advantage of the power possessed by his father, he had built a fortified tower in the very midst of the city.[1] At a later day he reoccupied this position; and, like another Catiline, assembled around him the most desperate characters, men involved in debt and ready for any crime; he had, as the chronicle tells us, formed a garrison of all the heretics and evil-doers in the country.[2]

Being accused of the murder of one of his uncles, whose house he had forcibly entered and pulled down, he was excommunicated at the beginning of the preceding

[1] In turrim quam, vivente patre suo Stephano urbis præfecto, construxerat, se recepit.—*Vit. Greg. a Paulo Bernriedensi, apud Henschenium, Maii*, vol. vi. p. 121.

[2] Ad cujus confugium omnis hæreticus omnisque scelestus properabant. . . . Qui ad sui destructionem quemdam suum compatrem occidit, in cujus domum perrupit quam etiam destruxit.—*Ibid.*

pontificate by the request of Hildebrand, who even at that time had the management of affairs.[1] Cinci then took flight with two of his partisans, whose names, Bertram and Nicholas, have been preserved, and took refuge at the Court of Henry ;[2] he had served the cause of Cadalous, having entered Rome with him, and carried on a street war with the troops of the Duke Gottfried and Beatrice, who had brought back the Pope Alexander. The anti-pope Cadalous being at last driven away, died in exile, and Cinci, by favour of his connections with the Roman nobility, had obtained leave to return to the city, on condition of taking an oath to the Pope to keep the peace.[3] As soon as he had obtained possession of his tower at the entrance of the bridge of Saint Peter, he threw a number of men-at-arms into it, and began to exact the payment of a toll on all merchandise that crossed.[4]

The vast extent of ancient Rome, over which the new population was but thinly scattered, the uninhabited spots in the midst of the city, and at the same time the fortified dwellings with which it abounded, rendered easy all kinds of outrage, and accounts for the robberies, disturbances, and snatches of civil war of which it was so often the theatre. No civil order, no regular guard; poverty and violence everywhere, the one sheltered, the other emboldened, by the ruins which covered the soil of Rome.

[1] Vir Dei accensus, una cum adhuc vivente papâ Alexandro, maledictionis et anathematis eum vinculis alligavit.—*Vit. Greg. a Paulo Bernriedensi, apud Henschenium, Maii*, vol. vi. p. 121.

[2] Ad perditionis filium, scilicet Henricum regem properavit.—*Ibid.*

[3] Pactum se cum domino papâ facere et fidelitatem servare spopondit, quod et fecit.—*Ibid.* p. 122.

[4] Sicque factum est ut in ipsâ turri quam miræ magnitudinis suprà pontem S. Petri construxerat viros sicarios poneret, qui ab omnibus introeuntibus ex iis quæ ferebantur prædam caperent.—*Ibid.*

The genius of the Roman Church had at first viewed this material destruction, this accumulation of fragments which testified so amply to the fall of paganism, without regret. At the end of the fourth century a Pope had been reproached with having aided in the demolition of the portions of the ancient city proper, and of the walls that protected it. After that, the sovereign Church of Rome made no attempt during many centuries to protect the pagan monuments from the effects of time or the devastations of the barbarians. What recollections remained of ancient art, or rather of the imitation of Byzantine art, was applied to the Christian worship, to the transforming the pagan temples into Christian chapels. The capitol alone was raised from its ruins, and one only Imperial palace preserved under the name of the Lateran, just as the Pantheon of heathen days became the church of Saint Mary-Major. With these exceptions religious zeal seconded the barbarous neglect of the age. A writer who is nearly contemporary with Gregory VII. dilates on the pleasant spectacle of this ruin of Imperial palaces and other wonderful monuments as representing to the faithful the destruction of Jericho; while, says he, the ecclesiastical buildings, that increase in numbers daily, and stand forth embellished with marble and decked with gold, visibly figure the house of Rahab, which alone was not thrown down—that is to say, the Church, resting on the faith, and the name of Saint Peter.

The same writer gives some curious details of the martial anarchy that was then so frequent. The churches and monasteries—the only public edifices that were kept in repair—were regarded as fortified places;

they were often surmounted by battlements and engines of war; and thither were carried stores of arms and heaps of stones, as to a place close unto the Saracens, says the author; and in order that these preparations, even in the weak hands of men devoted to contemplation, may terrify the barbarians, who never failed to attack such places, if they knew them to be without means of defence. And, in fact, says the same writer, who was at Rome in the time of Innocent III., the priests and monks often appeared on the walls with cuirass and buckler, shooting arrows and casting down great stones to drive away the enemy, and thus, without intending to kill, to impress the barbarians with terror and save their own lives.

The barbarians, in the forcible language of this witness, were the very scum of the earth, often in the pay of those whom he elsewhere styles Roman captains; such, among others, was the Cinci of whom we have been speaking. This fact alone does not, however, account for the extent of his audacity and his extraordinary usurpation; there must have been, too, some abuse of an unrescinded privilege, some claim to importance which he derived from his feudal relationship and from his riches.

But, whatever were these privileges or this ascendency, Gregory VII., now master in his own name, could not tolerate the disgraceful disorders he had already put down under another pontiff; and when the rupture broke out with Germany, the patronage Cinci had there enjoyed, and the asylum he had there lately sought, rendered his insolence the more insupportable at Rome.

Gregory VII. then did not hesitate to attack in his

person the last and most formidable of those Roman barons who had so often conspired against the papacy. After having issued reprimands and anathemas in vain, he gave orders to the prefect of Rome to lay hands on the rebel. The prefect of Rome, according to the public rights of the time, was a magistrate in whom was vested both civil and military jurisdiction; bound to the Pope, to whom he paid homage, and to the Emperor, from whom he received the insignia of his power—a naked sword to be employed against evildoers whom he should arrest, bring to judgment, and execute in the absence of the prince, during an interregnum or a minority. This right of investiture must have become very weak; the prefect was, in fact, chosen and upheld by the Pope. The man who now filled this office had the name, and was according to all appearance of the same family, of the Cinci; he was a pious person, who was so zealous for God, that, knight and layman as he was, he had occasionally preached in the Church. We still possess two letters of Peter Damien addressed to this magistrate, who was evidently much more a liegeman and officer of the Pope than of the Emperor. In one of those letters the eloquent Bishop of Ostia, whose voice had failed him when he would have preached to the people on the feast of the Epiphany in Saint Peter, thanks the prefect Cinci for having spoken in his stead, and compares him to the two leaders of the Israelites, Moses and Aaron, on account of his rigid equity in the judgment seat and his holy teaching in the temple, and calls him the father of his country and the defender of the Church.[1] In another letter, of a later date, he warns

[1] *Petri Damien. Epist.* vol. i.

him to moderate that excessive liking for ecclesiastical oratory, of which most likely Cinci had been too liberal, reminding him of the importance of his secular functions, and advising him not to neglect the police of the people confided to his care, by reason of his love for spiritual contemplation, nor to sacrifice to his private gratification the common safety of the numbers who waited for justice.

However this be, Gregory VII. saw at once what he might expect from the pious attachment of such a man, just as clearly as when he chose as his ambassador to Guiscard a hermit who was a knight of ancient lineage, wearing an iron girdle beneath his official robe. He opposed to the brigand the mystic prefect, and he without any regard for relationships or the friendly participation of the Roman nobles, arrested Cinci by open force, and cast him into a dungeon.

Startled at this bold stroke, many of the nobles, who in the impunity of Cinci exercised a right for themselves, came to the Pope to entreat him, at least, to spare his life. Gregory, who was averse to the sanguinary rigours practised by his first patron, Gregory VI., never, for all his severity and his frequent perils, allowed one of his enemies to be punished with death. After having exacted from the rebel in question, an oath on the relics of Saint Peter that he would amend his life, and received bail from some of his relatives, who were people of credit in the city, he gave him his liberty, but at the same time occupied his principal fortress.[1] Disgusted

[1] Interventu quorumdam nobilium Romanorum, permittente hoc clementiâ domine papæ, peractis supra sancti Petri corpus sacramentis suæ meliorationis datisque obsidibus et redditâ turri, dimissus est . . . . turres quam plures in urbe construxerat.—*Vit. Greg. a Paul. Bernried. apud Henschenium, Maii*, vol. vi. p. 122.

at this affront, which menaced his party in Rome, Cinci fled and sought elsewhere for allies and revenge. He first addressed himself to the chief among those who had been excommunicated in the last Councils, presenting himself in person to the Duke Guiscard in Calabria, and sending one of his sons to Ravenna to confer with the Archbishop Guibert, whose bitter rivalry was well known. But Guiscard, though he had broken with the Pope, and though he meant to take the first opportunity of pillaging in the States of the Church, did not care to violate with his own hand the chair of Peter, from which he expected hereafter to receive the recognition of his conquests, and a title of strength. He received Cinci and his projects with the disdain of a successful usurper for a common adventurer. The archbishop could undertake nothing openly against the Pope, in the midst of the inhabitants of Ravenna, where his voice was less influential than that of their countryman, Peter Damien, so zealous for the Church of Rome; but he received favourably the son of Cinci, and his appearance at Rome, a few months after, gave reason to suppose that he came to reap the fruit of a plot which he had approved beforehand.

Cinci, seeking still more powerful support, had written to Germany, complaining to the king of the persecutions he had suffered, for the royal cause, as he said, and offering to bring to the king his implacable enemy, the Pope, bound hand and foot.[1] The plan resembled those projects of violence, with the chances of assassination, which adventurers without character or country are

[1] Ad regem etiam suæ fallaciæ destinavit litteras, promittens eumdem patrem regio conspectui repræsentandum.—*Vit. Greg. a Paul. Bernried. apud Henschenium, Maii*, vol. vi. p. 122.

found to be ready from time to time to undertake against princes, and which they hasten to propose to their rivals.

We do not know what encouragement Henry gave to the proposition, or what was his reply. Nearly a year had passed since Cinci had left Rome. Under the secret protection of Guibert, and supported by the partisans of the empire in Italy, he had employed this interval in collecting money and arms, in bringing together malcontents and ruffians, and in establishing communications in Rome. A republican revolution was by no means foreign to his plans, or at least his words promised to his accomplices, as a chronicler tells us, benefits, liberty, and immense wealth.[1] All, however, still went on quietly. Rome, being delivered from the enterprises of the evildoers, by the banishment of the chief among them, was more tranquil than usual. Gregory celebrated the holy ceremonies in peace, showed himself much among the people, preached in the churches, visited the dwellings of the poor, and fulfilled all the duties of a chief and pontiff.

On Christmas Eve, 1076, he had gone, according to his custom, to celebrate the office in the Church of Saint Mary-Major, on Mount Esquiline, a quarter of Rome that was at that time reputed dangerous and inhabited by the poorest of the people and the wandering shepherds of the Roman Campagna.

The basilica of Saint Mary-Major had been built on the ruins of the temple of Diana, on the spot where were formerly the gardens of Mecænas; it was the

[1] Promittens eis ineffabilia, libertatem futuram, quæstum sine mensurâ.—*Paul. Bern. ap. Act. Sanct.*

second of the patriarchates of Rome, and had been enlarged and embellished under Pope Sixtus III., who dedicated it by this inscription: *Sixtus, to the People's Divine Protector.* There was exposed to the veneration of the faithful an ancient picture of the Virgin, with her Divine Son seated on her left arm; this picture, it was said, had come from the East, and was painted by the Apostle Saint Luke;[1] and miracles were attributed to it. It is related that, being carried through the city in the time of Pope Saint Gregory, it had suddenly stayed the plague. No church in Rome was more dear to the devout population; ever since the fifth century, on every Christmas Eve, it had been visited by great numbers of the inhabitants who crowded to the pontifical mass and passed the whole night in chants and prayer. But on this occasion the solemnity was attended by the priests in the suite of the Pope and a few lay people only. A long and violent storm, which seemed to threaten a second deluge, had kept many families at home.[2] But few of the faithful had made their way through the dangerous quarter to the Church of Saint Mary-Major during the day, or through the dark and rainy night.

Nevertheless, at midnight, the Pope, invested with his sacred ornaments, celebrated mass in the Chapel of the Nativity; he had just communicated with the clergy; the rest of the faithful were in the act of receiving holy communion; the Pope had not yet said

[1] Imago G. V. Mariæ depicta est in quâdam grossâ tabulâ cum imagine filii in brachio sinistro, quam depinxit sanctus Lucas evangelista.—*Basilicæ S. Mariæ Majoris Descriptio*, p. 242.

[2] Die namque ipsa vigiliarum tantam æther aquarum inundationem profuderat, ut ipsum primi temporis imminere diluvium omnibus videretur.—*Vit. Greg. a Paulo Bern. apud Act. Sanct.*, vol. vi. p. 122.

the concluding prayer.[1] All of a sudden loud cries were heard without, and in an instant the church was filled with mail-clad men, who, sword in hand, rushed in at every door and, running up to the altar, tore down the balustrades that divided the sanctuary from the choir, and laid their blood-stained hands on the Pope. It was Cinci and his band, who, having received information and assistance from the inhabitants of the quarter, reined up their horses at the church doors and perpetrated this sacrilegious outrage. In their fury one of them wounded the Pope's forehead ; and then dragging him from the altar with blows and insults,[2] to which he offered no resistance by word or deed, but with his eyes calmly raised to heaven, they stripped him of the pallium, the chasuble, and the tunic, and leaving him with only one garment on his body, they threw him across a horse behind one of their party like a brigand bound.[3] Flying then with all speed to a part of the town where Cinci still had a fortified tower in the hands of a faithful accomplice, they shut themselves up there with their prisoner.

Meantime the priests and the faithful who had escaped from the tumult filled the city with terror.

[1] Antequam post communialem orationem finiret eucharistia.—*Berthold. Const. Chronic.* p. 29.

[2] Percussisque ibidem aliquantis, ruptisque ostiolis . . . .—*Vit. Greg. a Paul. Bern., Maii*, vol. vi. p. 123.

Tunc in eum injecerunt manus et tenuerunt.—*Ibid.*

De missâ nondùm finitâ violentis manibus abstraxerunt, cædentes et percutientes.—*Ibid.*

Non reclamavit, non reluctatus est, neque ut sibi in aliquo misererentur rogavit.—*Ibid.*

[3] Tandem exutum pallio e casulâ seu dalmaticâ et tunica, cum camisiâ relictis ei tantum amictu et stola, ut furem tractum post dorsum cujusdam sacrilegi posuerunt.—*Ibid.*

The people came pouring out of their houses, the storm was over, the torrents of rain had ceased. In the open spaces in the streets and the paved parts the water floods were rapidly disappearing, and the sky had become serene. The hurricane had passed away, and the blaze of fires and torches was seen on all sides.[1]

The relation of the dreadful events of the night passed from mouth to mouth: the profanation of the church; the carrying off, or the assassination, of the pontiff; for men did not yet know what to think or what to fear. The priests hastened from church to church to strip the altars and hide the holy vessels; and in the expectation of a general profanation, the rest of the inhabitants took up arms. All the night long, through the vast extent of Rome, which for all its ruins and losses and desert spaces still held some thousands of inhabitants, the trumpets sounded and the cry 'To arms!' was echoed; posts were established, and the issues of the city and breaches of the walls guarded, for fear that, if the pontiff still lived, he should be carried away by his enemies.[2]

At the same time the crowd pressed to the capitol; by that instinctive feeling of grandeur that still lived in the Romans, the assembly of a free people was revived in this tumultuary convocation of its Christian citizens. They heard from divers tongues that the Pope was still alive, that he was a prisoner in a tower, and in the hands of the wicked castellan Cinci, the friend of the

[1] Elementa tamen ad tempus usque illud turbata, ne populum zelantum domini zelum præpedirent, pacata monstrabatur.—*Vit. Greg. a Paul. Bern., Maii*, vol. vi. p. 123.

[2] Tota nocte, signis tubisque sonantibus, militibusque omnes aditus lustrantibus, ne aliquo portaretur extra urbem ingenio, nullum usquam vestigium potuit.—*Ibid.*

King of Germany, who had made the merchants pay toll and laid the pilgrims under contribution.

At this news arose mingled shouts of anger and enthusiasm. The long December night ended at last, and with the daylight came greater certainty and greater facility of action. Rich and poor, the nobles and the populace, says the chronicle, marched together to the fortress[1] that they called the den of *Anti-Christ.* Some of Cinci's adventurers defended the first approaches to it; they were attacked, put to flight, and driven within the fortification where their comrades were. The crowd then encircled the tower to besiege it, for all seemed to be actuated by one feeling; the general fury, with no chief to guide it, sufficed to inspire their movements. They brought forward machines of war and battered the walls; they lighted fires at the doors;[2] every one was more eager than his neighbour—the outer rampart gives way and crumbles before the assault, and the exasperated people have reached the foot of the tower.

During the attack the pontiff, who had been thrown into one of the rooms in the fortress, had been the object both of extraordinary care and extraordinary outrage. A Roman citizen and a lady of noble birth had made their way in with the rebels, and there, forgotten in the confusion of the fight, the man covered the pontiff with furs and warmed his very feet in his own bosom.[3] The woman, with more tenderness still, washed and dressed his wounds, while she lifted up her

[1] Populo congregato in Capitolio.—*Vit. Greg. a Paul. Bern., Maii,* vol. vi. p. 123.

[2] Ignis appositus est; allatisque machinis et arietibus, rumpitur murus.—*Ibid.*

[3] Vir ille tædio detractionis, et rigore hibernatis noctis afflictum, allatis calefecit pellibus, pedesque ejus in sinu suo composuit.—*Ibid.*

voice against the enemies of God, the sacrilegious murderers by whom she was surrounded, and then weeping, she reverently kissed the old man's breast, his beard, and his raiment. This spectacle recalled to the faithful of that day the love of the Magdalen for Christ.[1] But at the same place, and within the same hour, another woman, the sister of Cinci, heaped maledictions and insults on the pontiff.[2]

Cinci himself, with horrible imprecations, sword in hand,[3] attempted to wrest from the Pope an order for the delivering up of his treasures and his castles; but Gregory remained unmoved by all his threats. A servant of Cinci, in imitation of his master, swore he would cut off the Pope's head before the day was over.[4] The fate of battle soon punished this man's brutality; having appeared on the battlements, he fell mortally wounded in the throat by a javelin shot from below, and his death seemed in the eyes of his companions a sign of the anger of the Most High.

Cinci, perplexed at the turn things had assumed, and in fear that the fortress would soon be taken by assault by the furious people, came and cast himself at the Pope's feet,[5] and with that sort of compunction so

[1] Matrona vere ipsa, fomento medicaminis sui, patris nostri plagam, nimio sanguinis rosei profluvio tabidam, deplorando mulcebat, omnesque illos Dei inimicos, homicidas, sacrilegos, acclamabat, altera nimium Maria affecta . . . . caput pectusque deosculans lacrymis rigabat.—*Vit. Greg. a Paul. Bern., Maii*, vol. vi. p. 123.

[2] Traditoris soror patri maledicere non formidabat.—*Ibid.* p. 124.

[3] Ibi diù gladio super collum illius furialiter stricto, torvus, minax et omnifariam terrificus, thesaurum et fermissima S. Petri castella in beneficia sibi extorquere non cessavit ab eo, sed omnino non potuit.—Berthol. *Constant. Chronicon.*, p. 29.

[4] Alter vero ejusdam traditoris minister et sequipeda, evaginatum gladium retinens, tanti viri caput ipso die se abscissurum blasphemando asserebat.—*Paulus Bernriedensis.*

[5] Procidit ad pedes beatissimi papæ.—*Ibid.*

common and so easy in the midst of the superstitious and barbarous manners of the age, supplicated the Pope to deliver him from his sin, and to give him absolution. 'I am,' said he, 'a parricide. I have violated the sanctuary of the Mother of God, and the cradle of the Saviour, from which I dragged thee away, my father and lord apostolic; shield me and show mercy to me; inflict on me some penance, and appease as thou well knowest how to do the people in arms against me by the just judgment of God. All sinful as I am, take me into thy holy hands and give me this day to repent.' And saying this the man prostrated himself before the Pope.

Gregory then reminded him in a severe tone of the warnings he had so often sent to him by holy men, and the many remonstrances he had so long and so patiently addressed to him himself.

'Still,' said he, 'the gate of life may yet open for thee, if thou repent with all thy heart.'

Again Cinci fell on the earth, and promised to accomplish without delay whatever penance should be imposed on him.[1]

Then Gregory, with the same composure as though he had been in the Lateran, said, 'The evil thou hast done to me I forgive thee as thy father; but what thou hast done against God, the Mother of God, and the Apostles, or rather the whole Church, thou must expiate as I shall command thee. Thou shalt first go to Jerusalem; and if thou livest to come back, thou shalt place thyself under my guidance, so that if it be possible,

[1] Qui mox ad terram corruens, verum se reum miserumque confessus est. —*Vit. Greg. a Paul. Bern., Maii*, vol. vi. p. 123.

thou mayest yet receive the grace of God, and after having been an example of iniquity, become an example of repentance.'[1]

Cinci promised to make the required expiation, and to accomplish the imposed penance; the Pope then showed himself at one of the windows of the tower, and, stretching out his hands to the assailants, he made them signs to be still and to send him some of their leaders.[2]

Transported at this sight, the general idea was that the pontiff was calling for help. The besiegers redoubled their efforts to reach him; climbed in at the windows that were abandoned by the disheartened brigands, and gained the room where he was.[3] The pontiff was then borne out on the arms of his liberators into the sight of all the people, who shed tears of joy; but when they perceived the marks of violence and the stains of blood, they shuddered with horror and burst into lamentations.

In all this confusion, agitation, and danger, wounded as he was, the Pope had only one thought: to go at once to the Church whence he had been dragged, and to terminate the holy ceremony that had been interrupted by the attack of Cinci. An immense crowd followed him to the altar of Saint Mary-Major, and there, weak and exhausted, but supported by power

[1] Quiquid mihi ex ipsâ injuriâ irrogasti, paternè indulgeo. Quod autem in Deum et Matrem ejus, apostolosque seu omnem ecclesiam contraxti, luendum fore pronuntio.—*Vit. Greg. a Paul. Bern., Maii,* vol. vi. p. 123.

[2] Cernebatur enim totus cruoris magnitudine respersus.—*Ibid.*

[3] Tandem papa pius ad fenestram erectus, turbæ furenti expansis manibus ut componeretur, et aliquanti majorum turrim ascenderent inquit.—*Vit. Greg. P. Bernard.*

from on high, he ended towards the evening the solemn mass he had begun at the first hour of the day,[1] and then, having offered thanksgiving for the people's victory, he returned to take needful rest in the Lateran.

The people, masters of the tower, had at first spared the followers of Cinci by the Pope's orders. But a close search was afterwards made for his accomplices, and many of them had their noses cut off, and were banished from Rome.

The property of the rebels was confiscated, which proves that there were in this plot, not only brigand adventurers, but many of the Roman nobility to whom the pontifical power was obnoxious.

Cinci, under the protection, doubtless, of the apostolic forgiveness he had obtained under promise of doing penance, had escaped with his wife, his sister, his brothers, and his son, while the Pope was returning thanks for his deliverance.[2]

But his compunction vanished with his danger. The Pope cited him to appear before him within the time fixed for the performance of his penance; but he only replied by making plundering expeditions into the domains of the Church. The Pope caused him to be excommunicated by the bishop of Preneste, in whose diocese was his new retreat; but this man, who had no longer to dread the fury of the people of Rome in arms for the Pope's defence, troubled himself little about this new condemnation, and continued his brigandage till he

[1] Missam quam in galli cantu cœperat, adhuc jejunus et aliis sustentatus vespere complevit: nam eam prius ad communionem peregerat.—(*Chronic. Petershusanum*, lib. ii. p. 33.)

[2] Ipso vix interventu papæ, cui se reum dederat, inde vero propulsato.—(Berthold, *Const. Chr.* lib. xxix.)

regained Henry's camp, thus proving, as it should seem, that he had received the mission from him, or that at least he thought he would approve it.

Meantime, tranquillity was restored in Rome, and the pontiff's authority appeared more firmly established than ever by the late events.

But at the same time the weak side of that power, so imperious and formidable abroad, had been exposed.

Without an army, without guards, that spiritual sovereignty which was above all earthly thrones was liable to be surprised in a moment, and outraged in the very sanctuary. The presence of a victorious Otho was not needed for this: a brigand could do it. The attempt of Cinci, even while it excited indignation, might impugn the majestic inviolability of the pontiff in the estimation of those at a distance from the scene; and to this consideration we must doubtless attribute the silence of Gregory VII. in regard to this singular event. He sent forth into Christendom no complaint, no anathema; he named no one as the instigator or the accomplice of Cinci.

This reserve is especially to be noticed in a letter which he wrote to Henry the 6th of the Ides of January, 1076, thirteen days only after the disastrous Christmas night, and while he must have been still suffering from his wounds. His haughty soul was evidently above complaining of them, and he preferred concealing them from the knowledge of the world to accusing even his enemy of having inflicted them. In the composed and imperious gravity of this letter we perceive only the suspicions he must have conceived, and, as it were, a presentiment of the mortal strife that was at hand.

'Gregory, servant of the servants of God.

'To Henry, the king, health and benediction apostolic, if so be he obey the Apostolic See as a Christian king should.

'Considering and anxiously weighing within ourselves the strict account we shall have to give of the dispensation of the ministry which has been confided to us by the prince of the apostles, it is with doubt that we send thee the apostolic benediction, because we have heard that thou hast knowingly joined those who have been excommunicated by the judgment of the See Apostolic and the censure synodical. And if that be true, thou wilt thyself perceive that thou canst not receive the benefit of the benediction divine or apostolic, until thou shalt have banished from thee such as are excommunicated, obliging them to do penance, and till thou shalt have obtained the absolution and forgiveness of thy own sins by repentance and expiation due. We counsel, then, thy highness, if thou dost feel thyself guilty in this respect, to have recourse by speedy confession, to the advice of some pious bishop, who, under our authorisation, shall prescribe to thee what thou shouldst do, shall absolve thee, and with thy consent, inform us of the measure of thy repentance.'

In reading these words, written so close upon the danger from which Gregory VII. had escaped, one is at first tempted to suspect a spirit of irony; but other details prove that this language of the Pope was in reply to some recent protestations of Henry's, who, the evening before Cinci's attack, had renewed by his letters, and by the mouth of his ambassador, his assurances of filial obedience and devotion. After having

reminded him of these professions, Gregory adds, 'While thou dost affect much respect and smoothness in thy words, thou showest thyself very hardened in thy acts, and greatly opposed to the canonical and apostolic decrees in regard of things upon which religion lays the most stress. To speak of nothing else, what hast thou done in regard of the Church of Milan, of those things thou didst promise us by thy mother and our brethren the bishops, and with what intention didst thou make such promises? For now, adding wrong to wrong, thou hast disposed of the bishoprics of Spoleto and Ferneo. Can it be, that any man dare transfer or give a church to persons unknown to us, when the imposition of hands is permitted only to such as are proved and known? It comports with the royal dignity, since thou callest thyself a son of the Church, more to honour him who is its head, that is to say, blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, to whom, if thou art numbered among the Lord's sheep, thou hast been committed by Christ's authority when he said, "Feed my sheep."

'And at this present, when we, sinner and unworthy as we are, occupy his see and administer his government apostolic, it is he himself who receives all that thou writest to us, or that thou sendest us by the mouth of others; and while we cast our eyes over thy letters and listen to thy messages, he sees into the depths of the heart of him who writes and speaks to us.'

The king was weary of any longer dissimulating the facts hinted at in this grave and mysterious language. Whether suggested or not, whether encouraged or permitted, Cinci's unsuccessful attempt became for Henry the signal of a new line of policy.

Whilst the German envoys Rabbod and Vodescal were leaving Rome with the nuncios bearing the Pope's letter, the king, elated with a recent victory in Saxony, impatient of the pontifical reprimands he had already received, and conceiving the Pope either stricken down by the success of the plot, or as having escaped it, and implacable, had, in order to deal a decisive blow, convoked a sort of council in his city of Worms. He arrived there surrounded by many of his seigneurs on Sunday, January 24, not quite a month after the great tumult in Rome. Almost all the bishops and abbots who were feudatories of Germany were present, except those of the province of Saxony, which was rather defeated than conquered, and involved by its struggle for liberty in the religious opposition maintained by Rome.

The outrage of Cinci, then, seems to fix the crisis and the approaching declaration of the struggle which had been impending ever since Henry's accession. What, moreover, renders this deed memorable and singularly characteristic of the existing state of anarchy is, that it was repeated forty years later under almost the same circumstances; there was the same outburst of popular anger and indignation, the same deliverance. The spoiler again forced the church-doors and seized the Pope Gelasius at the altar, and dragged him away with blows to a fortified place of his in the city. He is also a Cinci of the same family of the Cinci Fragapani ever devoted to the Empire, and exasperated this time at having, with the support of Henry V., vainly contested the papacy for one of themselves. At the news of the attack, the people, as before, assembled at the Capitol, and thence with the prefect at their head,

with some Norman auxiliaries in their company, and the civic battalions of the twelve divisions of the city, and the Transteverini combined, marched to the fortress of the robber, who also gave up his captive wounded, while at the same time he prayed for absolution and pardon.

Gregory VII. had, then, to do with a party and a family hatred that was to survive him long, and was one of the instruments of the adverse foreign power. This explains the pontiff's distrust and harshness in presence of Henry's professions of obedience; and when we behold him inflict too much humiliation on the vanquished king, we must remember that he thought these humiliations were imposed on the interested protector of a spoiler and a murderer. Hence too, we can understand, that from the time of Cinci's attack, he felt himself irretrievably committed to a deadly war, and how sincere were the simple words he addressed to the people of Germany: 'God is our witness that no personal aims, no secular views have moved us to rise up against bad princes and bad priests, but only the consideration of our duty and of the power of the See Apostolic by which we feel ourselves urged on daily. For it would be better for us to suffer that death in the flesh, (which is common to all), by the hands of tyrants, than to consent by our silence, whether out of fear or interest, to the destruction of the Christian discipline.'

The letter of January 1075, so nobly silent as to the attack of Cinci, so haughty in its energetic remonstrances to Henry, arrived too late to stay the king's rash hand; for immediately after the celebration of the feast of Christmas he had quitted Goslar, and on

January 24, sixteen days after the departure of the pontifical envoys from Rome, he arrived at Worms to preside over the assembly he had called, and where he intended to strike a blow at Gregory VII. in his turn.

As we have said, a great number of bishops and abbots and seigneurs were there assembled from all the provinces of the Empire. The Dukes of Suabia and Carinthia, and the Saxon chiefs, who were either prisoners or fugitives, alone were absent.

To this meeting was admitted Hugh Leblanc, one of the principal promoters of the elevation of Gregory VII. to the pontificate, but a violent and unruly spirit of whom the new Pope had soon reason to complain. Sent in the first instance to Spain, then recalled from that mission and suspended, Hugh Leblanc came to Worms burning with the desire of revenge, and brought with him a libel, in which the life and the administration of Gregory VII. were shamefully misrepresented. This paper appears to have been the authority of those vulgar stories in which Gregory VII. was accused of magic and dealings with the devil. However that may be, the assembly of Worms, infected with Henry's hatred, made use of this libel to justify the sentence they wanted to pronounce. Two prelates only, Adalbert, Bishop of Wurtzburg, and Hermann, Bishop of Metz, refused to speak. They said it was unlawful and contrary to the canons to pass sentence except in a general council, and without proof of the facts alleged, on any bishop soever, and especially a Roman pontiff, whom neither a bishop nor even an archbishop had the right to accuse. But this latter argument was a weak one in the eyes of Henry, whose father had, by

his own will alone, deposed the Pope Gregory VI. in the midst of Rome itself.

The bishops who sided with the king took a haughty and threatening tone. William, bishop of Utrecht, an ambitious man, skilful in worldly affairs and a scholar, mainly seconded Henry's animosity, and pressed the two bishops either to sign the condemnation as the others had done, or to renounce there and then their oath of obedience to the king. Siegfried, who was once such an admirer of the Cardinal Hildebrand, now voted for the deposition of Gregory VII.

Independently of the desire of pleasing the king, there is no doubt that the severe rule of the pontiff had stirred up the animosity, which now burst forth. The sentence of this so-called council was written in angry terms, in which we can trace, so to say, reprisals on the part of each and all of those who had taken offence at his rigorous decrees. This memorable act runs thus:

'Hildebrand, who has assumed the name of Gregory, is the first who, without our consent, against the will of the emperor chosen of God, against the custom of our ancestors, against the laws, by his own ambition alone, has seized on the papacy. He does as he pleases, right and left, right or wrong. Monk apostate, he degrades theology by new doctrines and lying interpretations, perverts the holy books to his personal interests, puts division in the Pontifical College, mingles the sacred with the profane, opens his ears to the devil and to calumny, being himself witness and judge, accuser and defendant. He separates wives from their husbands, prefers immodest women to chaste spouses,

and adultery and incest to lawful unions; he stirs up the people against the bishops and priests; he calls those only legitimately consecrated who have begged the priesthood at his hands, or who have purchased it by ministering to his extortions. He deceives the common people by a fictitious religion, which he fabricates in a small council of women; it is with them he discusses the mysteries of religion, ruins the papacy, and attacks at once the Holy See and the Empire. He is guilty of high treason, as desiring to deprive of his dignity and his life our anointed emperor and most clement sovereign.

'For these causes the emperor and bishops, the Christian senate and people, declare him to be deposed, for they will no longer leave the flock of Christ in the keeping of this devouring wolf.'

After having signed this defamatory sentence in common, each of the bishops present at the council subscribed the following form:—

'I ——, bishop of the town of ——, I refuse from this time and for the future all submission and obedience to Hildebrand; I will no longer hold him apostolic, and will no more give him that title.'[1]

Many of the bishops signed this form under compulsion, by which Henry and his partisans sought to separate them for ever from Gregory VII.

Well pleased at having obtained this solemn declaration from the bishops of Germany, Henry immediately despatched the Count Eberhard to Italy. He was the

[1] Ego . . . civitatis. . . . Episcopus, Hildebrando subjectionem et obedientiam ex hoc et deinceps interdicto, et eum apostolicum nec habeo, nec vocabo.—(Bruno, *De bello Saxonico.*)

same ambassador he had sent three years before to make a sort of enquiry as to the election of Gregory VII. He now commissioned him to go into the midst of Rome, and the midst of the council, to notify to the pontiff his deposition. Henry flattered himself that he should find in a portion of the bishops of Italy, offended and dissatisfied under the severe authority of the pontiff, the same compliance as in the bishops of Germany. He spared, moreover, neither gifts nor promises, and had gained over, so it is said, secretly and by money, many of the Roman priests.

The Lombard clergy did not require this stimulus. The priests, who had almost all been excommunicated, heard the sentence of the Council of Worms with joy inexpressible. The Count Eberhard, to whom the ecclesiastical chroniclers have given the names of 'forger of lies,' and 'the devil's bait,' took advantage of these dispositions. He announced the deposition of the pontiff all over Milan and Pavia, had it reported through the country, and surrounded himself with excommunicated priests, whom he absolved from the sentence in the name of the Council of Worms and of the king. A council which he called in Pavia swore on the gospels no more to acknowledge Gregory as Pope, nor to render him obedience. But it seems that in this assembly, which so ardently adhered to the Council of Worms, more than one defender of pontifical inviolability was found; some voices declared that the Pope could not be deposed.

The Count Eberhard, who had long ago been excommunicated himself, did not go to Rome, but entrusted the king's letters to the Roman clergy, to a

Roman cleric of the Church of Parma, named Roland, a learned man, ardent in the cause of the schismatics. He, by the advice of the bishops of Lombardy, planned his journey so as to arrive at Rome the very evening before the opening of the council. This synod, which sat yearly, had never before been so numerous. King Henry was cited to appear before it; and the announcement of this novel proceeding, the expectation of the events by which it would be followed, the news which had been already spread of the deliberations of the Council of Worms, had doubled the influx of the bishops. One hundred and ten prelates took their seats in this council, together with a great number of the superior clergy. Many of the princes of Italy, and notably Beatrice and Matilda, were present, as also many of the Roman laity.

During the first sitting, a curious incident, no doubt arranged beforehand, took up the general attention. There was brought into the hall, and shown about as a miraculous sign, a hen's egg, which, it was said, had been found near Saint Peter's, and which showed, in relief, the representation of a shield, beneath which was a serpent, with its head stretched out and its tail coiled in folds.[1] This pretended prodigy was passed from hand to hand. The pontiff was seated in the chair of Saint Peter, and, after the hymn had been sung, the clerk from Parma was introduced, and having presented his letters, he said aloud: 'The king, my

[1] Incipiens synod. pastor Gregorius, ovum gallinæ sculptum, gestens in cortice scutum, et colubrum nigrum, qui tendebat caput, ictu quippe repercussus quodam, pertingere sursum non poterat, caudamque suam dabat plicatam. Non erat hæc plana, sed erat sculptura levata: ad synodum fertur nunquam par ante repertum.

master, and all the bishops, Ultramontane and Italian, command thee to quit this instant the Roman Church and the See of blessed Peter that thou fillest.' And then, turning to the Roman clergy, 'And you, my brethren,' said he, 'are invited to come at Pentecost unto the king's presence to receive a Pope, since it is decided that this man is not a Pope, but a devouring wolf.'

He had hardly ended his words before he was assailed on all sides by clamour and threats. The bishop of Porto, rising, exclaimed, 'Lay hands on that miscreant!' and he would have been torn to pieces if he had not taken refuge at the pontiff's feet. On hearing the tumult, the prefect's soldiers, who were stationed at the church doors, came in, with their swords drawn, and seized the imprudent messenger. The Pope gave orders to spare his life, that he might have time to repent, and had him taken to prison. He then said:

'My children, trouble not the peace of the Church; this is the time of peril of which the Scripture speaks, the time when there should arise vainglorious and covetous men rebellious against their fathers. It must needs be that offences come, and the Lord has sent us like sheep among ravening wolves. If God wills that His harvest-field should again be watered with the blood of martyrs, let us be ready, if need be, to suffer for the word of God, and let nothing make us lose sight of the charity of Jesus Christ.'

Then the pontiff proceeded to comment on the sign represented by the wonderful egg that had been found, as he said, in Saint Peter's. 'Let us,' added he, 'smite with the sword of the Word this serpent, who comes with sword and buckler against the Roman Church.'

Many voices replied, exclaiming that he was the father of the bishops, and must crush the blasphemer, and cut off the king of Germany from communion with the Church, and deprive him of his kingdom. The pontiff, without exhibiting any emotion, dismissed the assembly.

When the council met the next day in the church of Saint Saviour in the Lateran, Gregory VII. caused the letters that had been delivered to him the night before by the messenger of Henry to be read aloud.

'Henry, by the grace of God king, to all the holy Church, health, grace, and happiness.

'True and unshaken fidelity is that which remains the same toward a prince, whether present or absent; and that is neither weakened by distance or by time. Knowing that such is yours toward us, we thank you for it, and entreat you to maintain it by showing yourselves the friends of our friends, and the enemies of our enemies. Among the latter we specially name the monk Hildebrand; and we enjoin you to hate him, because we attack him as the invader and tyrant of the Church, and as the perfidious enemy of the Roman republic and of our kingdom, as it is easy for you to see from the accompanying letter we address to him.

'"Henry, by the grace of God, king, to Hildebrand.

'"When I expected of thee the treatment of a father, and deferred to thee in all things, to the great indignation of my faithful subjects, I experienced from thee in return what might have been looked for at the hands of the greatest enemy of my kingdom and my life.

'"Having, in the first instance, insolently attempted

to rob me of the hereditary dignity that was my due at Rome, thou hast gone on to endeavour, by detestable artifices, to alienate from me my kingdom of Italy. Not content with this, thou hast not feared to attack my venerable bishops, who are to me most precious, and thou hast tormented them by thy injustice and thy insults, in defiance of laws human and Divine, as they themselves say. And when I, with patience that I cannot account for, passed over these things, thou, instead of this patience, sawest in my conduct cowardice only; thou hast dared to revolt against thy chief himself, writing to him, as thou well knowest, the words I here repeat: '*that thou wouldst either lose thy own life, or deprive me of my life and my kingdom.*'

'"Judging that such unheard of insolence should be put down by deeds and not by words, I have held a general assembly of all the great men of my kingdom, by their own desire; and when those things which had hitherto been kept concealed out of fear and respect were produced before them, their declarations made manifest the impossibility of thy remaining in the See Apostolic; and I, abiding by their sentence, because it appeared to me just and praiseworthy before God and man, I deprive thee of that papal jurisdiction thou dost in seeming possess; and I command thee to descend from the pontifical See of Rome, whose patriarchate belongs to me by the gift of God and the will and the oath of the Roman people."

'Such is the text of our letter to the monk Hildebrand. We transcribe it for you, in order that you may know our goodwill, and that your attachment may be known by us, or rather by God and by us. Rise up,

then, against him, my well-beloved, and let him who is the most faithful to me be the first to condemn him.

'We seek not to shed his blood, for, after his deposition, his life will be to him a greater suffering than death; but if he will not come down from his seat, drag him from it, and place in the apostolic chair, with the common consent of all the bishops, another pontiff, elected by yourselves, able and willing to heal the wounds which this man has inflicted on the Church.'

Some variations of these letters have been preserved, but the sense of all of them is the same, and leaves no doubt as to the imperious violence of the language used by Henry. In one of these fragments we find, following a citation of the gospel, these words: 'Accursed let him be! And thou, smitten with this anathema, and condemned by the judgment of all the bishops and our own, come down, and leave the apostolic chair free, that another may ascend the throne of Saint Peter, not to cover violence with the cloak of religion, but to teach the doctrine of blessed Peter. I, Henry, by the grace of God king, and all our bishops, say unto thee, Come down, come down!'

Another letter that was read in the same sitting, as addressed to the Pope Gregory by the Council of Worms, concluded, after many invectives, in these furious words:

'Seeing that thy accession has been marked by perjury, and the Church of God, by reason of thy innovations, is in great peril, that thy private life and doings are dishonoured by so many crimes, we abjure the obedience we have promised to thee; and as thou hast

publicly said that none of us are thy bishops, so we say thou shalt be Pope for none of us.'

The reading of these letters, and this insulting sentence, excited the greatest indignation in the assembly; the shouts, 'Anathema to Henry and the perjured bishops,' arose; and on all sides the excommunication they had uttered, in defiance of law and right, and of the Holy Ghost, was hurled back upon themselves. The Pope, as he witnessed the indignation and heard the pious murmurs of the assembly, appeared to give way himself, expressing all the while most bitter grief at being constrained to utter words of censure, and to open his lips to curse. After a brief and imposing silence, he raised his eyes to heaven, and pronounced this prayer, ending with the anathema:

'O Blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, bend down to us, we beseech thee, thine ear; hear me, me thy servant, whom thou hast sustained from infancy and preserved till this day from the hands of the wicked, who hate me because I am faithful to thee.

'And thou, my lady, mother of God, with blessed Peter, thy brother, among the saints, art my witness that the holy Roman Church placed me, in spite of myself, at its helm, and that I sought not to raise myself to thy see, but would rather have ended my life in exile than to have taken thy place by considerations of worldly glory or in a secular spirit. Therefore it is, as I believe, by thy grace, O holy apostle, and not because of my works, that it has pleased thee, and that it pleases thee still, that the Christian people committed specially to thy care should obey me; for thy life has entered into me, and the power that God has given me

to bind and to loose in heaven and on earth is thy grace.

'So then, strong in this confidence, for the honour and safety of thy Church, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I depose King Henry, son of the Emperor Henry, who, by insolence unparalleled, has risen up against thy Church, the governments of the Teutonic kingdom and of Italy. I loose all Christians from the oaths they have taken or may take to him, and I forbid all persons to obey him as king; for it is just that he who strives to diminish the honour of thy Church should lose the honour he himself appears to possess. And as he has refused to obey as a Christian, and has not returned to the Lord he had forsaken, communicating with those that were excommunicated, committing many iniquities, despising the counsels I gave him for his salvation, as thou knowest, and separating himself from thy Church, in which he has put division, I bind him, in thy name, with the bond of the anathema; I bind him, relying on thy power, so that the nations may know and prove the truth of these words: "Thou art Peter, and on this stone the living God has built his Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."'

Thus the prophecy figured on the mysterious egg was fulfilled in the solemn words of the pontiff.

He has pronounced sentence on Henry, and he is about to entrust Germany with its execution.

In contemplating at the same time these grand projects and the majesty of this religious anathema, should we, remembering the popular demonstration of which we have spoken, tax the pontiff with an artifice un-

worthy of his faith and courage? Must we take from him that firm confidence in God and in himself that gives such grandeur to his character? Should we conclude that, sincere alone in the pride of his theocracy, Gregory, like some other great rulers of the earth—a Mahomet or a Cromwell—was at the same time an enthusiast and a deceiver, and thought all schemes holy that added to his power? or should we not rather believe that, deceived himself by a popular legend that coincided with the boldness of his own designs, he was as sincere in all he said as he was intrepid and resolute in what he threatened?

After having sentenced the king in the Council of Rome, Gregory VII.'s next step was to extend the anathema to those foreign priests who had taken a share in Henry's revenge. Already, in preceding years, he had excommunicated, among the counsellors at the Court of Germany, many powerful prelates—Otho, bishop of Ratisbon; another Otho, bishop of Constance; and Bunchard, bishop of Lausanne. Now the whole German episcopate, with Siegfried, archbishop of Mayence, at their head, had risen up against the pontiff, and had begun the war by deposing him.

For all his anger, Gregory VII. felt that he must combat such enemies by other means, and not deprive them of the hope of reconciliation and forgiveness. He considered that among the bishops of Germany who had subscribed the insulting sentence of Worms, there was more than one who had been made to do so by force; that possibly many, after having yielded, in presence of the king, to the menaces of their fellow-bishops, or to the tumultuous movements of a great

assembly, would be visited by repentance, and be ready to re-enter, and to ask pardon of the Roman Church, when they should see its firm and threatening attitude.

As to the Lombard bishops, his enemies at all times, and who had just welcomed with such ardour the sentence of the Assembly of Worms, Gregory did not think them worth a thought. Under the influence of these considerations, he pronounced the following decrees, amid the acclamations of the council:—

'Siegfried, archbishop of Mayence, having endeavoured to separate from the holy Church the bishops and abbots of the Teutonic kingdom, we, by the judgment of the Holy Spirit and the blessed apostles Saint Peter and Paul, suspend him from all episcopal functions, and cut him off from the communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, excepting only that he should be in peril of death, and provided always he should be touched with repentance.

'As to the rest, who have of their own will subscribed this schism, and who intend to harden themselves in that iniquity, we suspend them likewise from all episcopal functions; but for those who have only consented through force, we leave them till the feast of Saint Peter, with the condition that if they have not before that time, either in their own persons or by envoys, made suitable satisfaction to us, they shall then be deprived of the episcopate.

'As to the bishops of Lombardy, who, in contempt of the authority canonical and apostolic, have conspired under oath against blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, we suspend them from the exercise of all epis-

copal functions, and we exclude them from the communion of the Church.'

Gregory was not mistaken in his expectations. The very next day, in the third sitting of the council, he received letters from several bishops of Germany, who accused themselves of having sinned against him, and, imploring the pardon apostolic, promised inviolable obedience for the future.

The synod continued its labours peacefully. The Pope did not this year renew the usual excommunication against Robert Guiscard, as though he had had a presentiment that he might chance at a future day to find a defender in the person of this unruly and dangerous vassal. He said nothing either of Philip I. of France, who had already been twice excommunicated to no purpose, but whose name he did not perhaps wish to repeat at this moment, and so add to his offence; but he issued many decrees as to ecclesiastical discipline, directed against the bishops, abbots, and seigneurs of France.

Berengarius, bishop of Agde, was excommunicated for having discharged the episcopal functions for the bishop of Narbonne, who had been excommunicated in the preceding council. Hermann, bishop of Vienne, who had already been deposed, and who had attempted to re-obtain possession of his church by force, was anathematised and interdicted from celebrating the divine office, as were also many of the clergy who had joined with him.

In the kingdom of France, the Pope also excommunicated the Count of Saint Gilles for having married his cousin; and the Count de Forez, for having com-

mitted some ravages on the domains of Lyons. He renewed the sentences of his legates against divers persons accused of simony and homicide, and confirmed some decisions of the bishop of Dia touching ecclesiastical revenues.

These different acts were, so to speak, the ordinary business of a council, and the minor matters directed by the pontifical authority.

Gregory VII. was meditating something more important, and more in keeping with the enterprise he had undertaken against Henry.

He determined in this assembly, and by favour of the present great opportunity, to recite and proclaim all the ancient maxims, all the doubtful traditions, all the excessive pretensions, by which he could support his supremacy. It was, in a manner, the abridged code of his domination, the laws of servitude, that he proposed to the world at large.[1]

Here are the terms of this charter of theocracy:

'The Roman Church is founded by God alone.

'The Roman pontiff alone can legitimately take the title of Universal. He alone can depose bishops or reconcile them to the Church. His legate, even if he be of inferior rank, takes precedence of all bishops in council, and can pronounce sentence of deposition against them.

'The Pope can depose the absent. There shall be no intercourse whatever held with persons excommunicated by the Pope, and none may dwell in the same house with them.

[1] Ad hanc synodum spectare nascuntur ejusdem Gregorii papæ sententiæ breviores quæ hoc titulo inscriptæ habentur: Dictatus papæ.—Baron, *Ann. Eccles.*, vol. xvii. p. 430.

'To the Pope alone belongs the right of making new laws, according to the necessities of the time, of forming new congregations, of raising a canonry to an abbey, of dividing into two a bishopric that is too rich, of uniting under one such as are too poor.

'He alone may wear the imperial insignia.

'All the princes of the earth shall kiss the feet of the Pope, but of none other.

'There is a title which one man alone can bear—that of Pope.

'He has the right of deposing emperors.

'He has the right to transfer, when necessary, a bishop from one see to another.

'He can transfer any priest from any church to any other place he may please.

'The priest thus appointed by him may rule in another church than his own; but he may not make war, or receive a superior grade from any bishop.

'No council is to be called a general council without the Pope's order. No capitulary, no book can be received as canonical without his authority.

'The sentence of the Pope can be revoked by none, and he alone can revoke the sentences pronounced by others.

'He can be judged by none.

'None may dare pronounce sentence on one who appeals to the See Apostolic.

'To it shall be referred all major causes by the whole Church.

'The Church of Rome never has erred, and never can err, as Scripture warrants.

'A Roman pontiff, canonically ordained, at once

becomes, by the merits of Saint Peter, indubitably holy.

'By his order and with his permission, it is lawful for subjects to accuse princes.

'He can depose or reconcile bishops without calling a synod.

'Whosoever does not agree in all things with the Roman Church is not to be considered a Catholic.

'The Pope can loose subjects from the oath of fealty.'

Such are the fundamental articles promulgated by Gregory VII. in the Council of Rome, which the official historian of the Church reproduced in the commencement of the seventeenth century as being authentic and legitimate, and Rome has never disavowed them.

Borrowed in part from the false decretals, resting, most of them, on the fabulous donation of Constantine and on the successive impostures and usurpations of the first barbarous ages, they received from the hand of Gregory VII. a new character of force and unity. That pontiff stamped them with the sanction of his own genius.

Such authority had never before been created: it made every other power useless and subaltern.

Those great assemblies of the early centuries, the Œcumenical Councils, had been less sovereign in their character, and had left much more to the will of individual churches.

Destroying the liberty of the ancient churches, this new code withdrew the bishops from the natural jurisdiction of their assembled brethren; it destroyed too, the power of the provincial councils, and made all

promotion and all innocence depend on the decision of the Pope alone. Commingling all things, to put them under his feet, Gregory effaced that distinction of the spiritual and temporal which the timid common-sense of men invoked against a power absolute if it were infallible.

With this right of deposing bishops, he proclaimed that of deposing kings. It was armed with this power and with these doctrines, that Gregory VII. began the mortal combat with Henry.

BOOK V.

1076-1077.

WHILE this storm was gathering over the king's head he lost the support of the most faithful of his vassals, the very one who would have been most zealous in a war against Gregory VII. and Matilda. In the month of March, 1076, a few days after the Council of Rome, the Duke Gottfried, then on his return to Lorraine, visited the city of Antwerp, on the confines of his own possessions and those of the Count of Flanders, and was there assassinated. He was, we are told, stabbed in the night by a miscreant, who left his weapon in the wound. Gottfried survived a week, and expired on the 4th of the Calends of March: he was interred at Verdun beside the Duke, his father. The public voice accused Baldwin, Count of Flanders, of committing this crime to rid himself of a formidable neighbour. Some contemporary writers have tried to fix on Matilda suspicions wholly incompatible with her elevation of soul.

However it happened, his death deprived the emperor of an illustrious and powerful ally. Gottfried, says a writer of the opposite party, notwithstanding the disadvantage of being small and deformed, had a vast superiority over the other princes by reason of his

power, the number and valour of his troops, the maturity of his counsels, and finally, by the purity of his whole life.

Henry, who was on the move through his vast dominions, had, immediately after the Council of Worms, set out for Goslar; and there, thinking himself more secure than ever by the blow he had dealt on Gregory VII., he had satisfied his hatred of Saxony and multiplied his deeds of severity. He caused to be rebuilt by forced labour the castles that had been dismantled the year before, and constructed new ones; he placed garrisons and exactors everywhere, and endeavoured to subdue by the infliction of poverty and slavery, the intractable spirit of the nation.

From Saxony Henry went to Cologne, in order to be present at the consecration of a new archbishop of his own choice. He had appointed him in opposition to the diocesan assembly, in which the clergy and the knights voted, and had him consecrated by Wilhelm, bishop of Utrecht, who had shown himself so zealous against the Pope in the Assembly of Worms.

Henry next repaired to Utrecht to celebrate the feast of Easter. It was there he received the intelligence of the excommunication pronounced against him by the Pope in the Council of Rome.

Wilhelm, bishop of Utrecht, who possessed the king's entire confidence, and whose counsels had in part determined the resolutions of the Assembly of Worms, troubled himself but little at first about the pontiff's anathemas, and encouraged the prince to brave them. He even thought proper to speak to the people of his diocese on the subject; and in his church

after mass, he announced, as a matter to be laughed at, that the Pope had had the folly to excommunicate the king.

During the stay of the prince, and in the midst of the solemnities of the feast, the bishop often returned to this subject, declaiming violently against Gregory, to whom he applied the epithets perjurer, adulterer, and false apostle, and boasting, in company with the other bishops, of having excommunicated him.

But when the king had left, and, it is said, during the delivery of these vehement tirades, Wilhelm, who was already aged, was struck with sudden sickness. There were in Utrecht, as elsewhere, many partisans of the Roman pontiff, whose zeal had increased in consequence of the insults offered to him. They declared that the hand of God was laid on the Bishop Wilhelm, and true it appears—whether because his soul was troubled at the approach of death, or whether the description of his last hours has been exaggerated—that his dying moments were full of despair. One of the king's people, having come to visit him, asked what he should say for him to his master: 'Tell him,' replied the dying prelate, 'that I and all the abettors of his iniquity are damned to all eternity.' The priests who were present endeavoured to prevent him from speaking thus. 'I tell you what I know,' cried he in his delirium, 'there are the devils around my bed, waiting to carry away my soul as soon as it leaves my body. Say no prayers for me—they are useless.'

Such was the terror inspired by this spectacle or this story, that they dared not bury the reprobate bishop,

and his body was kept above ground while they sent to Rome.

Henry learned this tragic death with grief; and he must from that moment have understood the extent of those dangers which were raised up against him by those anathemas which smote with death in their pulpits the bishops who were more faithful to his cause than to that of the Roman Church.

The Bishop of Utrecht was, by the admission of Gregory's partisans, the most honourable and the wisest of Henry's counsellors; and his loss under such circumstances was doubly disastrous for the king. The intelligence of the pontiff's new decrees, and of the excommunication of Henry, soon spread over all parts of Germany; it was a powerful encouragement for the enemies of this prince, and for all his malcontent or jealous vassals.

Rudolph, Duke of Suabia, Welf, Duke of Bavaria, Berthold, Duke of Carinthia, the Bishop of Wurtzburg, and the Bishop of Metz, began to hold secret conferences between themselves and to revive their ancient hatred against Henry. They accused this prince of perfidy and cruelty; they complained that his victory over the Saxons, by increasing his authority had only increased his violence. Some among them who had pledged themselves for the observance of the treaty with the Saxons, were especially mortified by Henry's frequent violation of his word, and all of them, seeing by his treatment of this unfortunate people the proof of his implacable disposition, came to the conclusion that they would be ruined themselves if they did not in self-defence profit by the help of the sovereign pontiff.

The Council of Rome having separated on the eighth day, according to the usual custom of these annual assemblies, the Pope remained alone to carry his bold decrees into execution. His first care was to spread through Germany the sentence of deposition pronounced against Henry, with a short letter addressed to all those 'who desire to be numbered among the sheep of Christ given into the keeping of Saint Peter.'

He limited himself to recounting the insult offered to the Holy See, and what he qualified as the criminal boasting of the schismatics and their blasphemy of God in the person of Saint Peter. He then urged all the faithful to entreat the Divine mercy to lead to repentance the hearts of those impious men, and by making their evil counsel of no avail, to show forth the vanity and folly of those who endeavour to overthrow the stone founded on Christ Jesus, and to violate Divine privileges. But soon after this first simple notification of the decrees of the Church, Gregory, ever watchful of the movements of Germany, of the scruples of some, of the passions of others, and calculating thus all the secular aid he could command in the cause of the Church, addressed to all the great men of the kingdom a long letter, which must be regarded as the manifesto of the war, civil and religious, to be waged with Henry. Copies of this letter were circulated in all the provinces of Germany, and more particularly in Saxony. It ran thus:—

'Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to all the nobles of the Teutonic kingdom.

'We have learned that some of you are in doubt in regard to the excommunication that we have pronounced

against the king, and that you ask whether our sentence has been regularly imposed. We consequently desire to make plain to the eyes and intelligence of all wherefore we have been led to excommunicate him. We do this less to explain publicly our private motives—which are, alas! but too well known—than to satisfy those who accuse us of unsheathing the spiritual sword unadvisedly, or by the impulse of our own will, rather than out of fear of God, and zeal for His honour.

'When we still held the office of deacon, distressing and dishonourable reports of the king's conduct having reached us, we, hoping and desiring his amendment, often admonished him by letters and by his own messengers to depart from evil, and, remembering what was due to his birth and his dignity, to honour his throne by living as a king should do, who, by God's leave, would one day be emperor. But as since we, though unworthy, have reached the elevation of the pontificate, Henry has increased in age and iniquity; and knowing that God will demand of us an account of his soul, with all the more severity because we have had the more power and liberty to reprimand him, we have all the more exhorted him by every means, by teaching, by entreaty, by reproof, to reform his life. He often addressed to us respectful salutations and letters, pleading in his excuse the frailty of youth and the pernicious influence of those who formed his counsels; but while promising in words to follow our advice, he trampled it under foot by adding to his sins. We have called to repentance some of his favourites, whose counsels and manœuvres had induced him to introduce simony among the bishoprics and monasteries, and to fill them

with wolves instead of shepherds. And as we have learned that those men have despised the truce that had been granted them, and that they have persisted in their malice, we have separated from the communion of the Church, as it was right to do, those sacrilegious men, ministers, and members of the devil, and we have advised the king to banish them from his house and his counsels as being excommunicated.'

The pontiff continued to enumerate his causes of complaint: the submissiveness of Henry before the Saxon war, his haughtiness after victory, of the new letters and new messages of the Holy See.

He took God to witness with what joy he would have received and would still receive Henry into the bosom of the Church; but what he particularly reproaches him with is the having wrecked almost all the bishops of Italy and Germany by forcing them to refuse obedience to the Holy See Apostolic. Nevertheless he ends by protesting that he loves the king more truly than those do who abet and flatter his iniquities.

'If he will,' said he, 'turn to repentance, whatever he may do against us, he will find us ever ready to receive him into our holy communion, according to the counsel we shall receive from your charity.'

Severe as this letter was, Gregory VII., actuated by the news from Germany, the rising of the nobles in Saxony, and the repentance of a great number of the bishops, adopted more threatening language in a circular-letter to the prelates of Germany.

In it he refutes once more the objection that King Henry could not be excommunicated, and after having cited texts from Saint Peter and the words of Popes

Gelasius and Gregory the Great, he exclaims : 'Shall not a dignity created by men, in an age when they knew not God, be under submission to that which the providence of Almighty God Himself has created for His glory and bestowed on the world in His mercy? His Son, whom we believe with undoubting faith to be God and Man, who is also the sovereign priest, the head of all priests, seated at the right hand of His father, ever making intercession for us, despised that worldly royalty on account of which those of our day are so puffed up, and took upon him of his own will the priesthood of the cross.'[1]

'Who can deny that kings and dukes came into existence because that, knowing not God, by robberies, and perfidy, and murder—in a word, by the commission of every crime under the inspiration of the devil, the prince of this world, they dared, in their blind passion and intolerable pride, to set up as masters over men who were created their equals? And when they seek to make the priests of the Lord bow down to them, to whom can they better be compared than to the devil himself, the father of all the children of pride, who when he tried to tempt the Sovereign Pontiff, the chief of all priests, and the Son of God himself, said, when he showed all the kingdoms of the earth, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Can there be any doubt that the priests of Jesus Christ are the fathers and masters of kings and princes and of all the faithful?'

The pontiff, after having brought forward some passages from the Fathers, which he either wrests from

[1] Et ad sacerdotium crucis spontaneus venit.

their meaning or exaggerates, draws another argument from the miraculous power of exorcism. He concludes by a double analogy, that if men have power over the devil, they must necessarily have the same power over such kings and princes as are under the devil; and that if ordinary exorcists have this power, priests must have it in a greater degree. He then exclaims triumphantly:

'Every Christian king, when he is near his end, humbly implores the aid of the priest, that he may escape hell and go absolved into the presence of God; but what priest, or even what dying layman, ever implored for his soul's salvation the help of an earthly king?[1] What king or what emperor can save a Christian from the power of the devil by baptism, place him among the sons of God, and anoint him with the holy chrism?[2]

'And lastly—and herein is the grandeur of Christianity—what king or what emperor can, by the word of his mouth, create the body and blood of the Lord? To whom among them is it given to bind and to loose in heaven and earth? What man then, however unlearned he be, can doubt that priests are above kings; that if kings are to be judged for their sins by priests, none is so fit to try them as the pontiff of Rome.

'From the beginning of the world,' adds he, 'till now, in all the course of authentic history, we do not find as many as seven kings or emperors whose life has been graced by God with eminent piety or miraculous gifts,

[1] Omnis rex Christianus ad exitum veniens, ut inferni carcerem evadat, ut de tenebris in lucem tendat, ut de peccatorum vinculis in Deo judicio absolutus appereat, sacerdotis opem supplex ac miserandus requirit; quis autem non modo sacerdotum, verum etiam laicorum, in extremis positus pro suæ animæ salute terreni regis imploravit auxilium?—*Greg. Pap.* lib. viii. *Epist.* xxi.

[2] Sanctoque chrismate præmunire.—*Ibid.*

such as have been granted to those who have despised the world. Not to speak of the apostles or the martyrs, which of the emperors or kings has been signalised by such miracles as Martin, Anthony, and Benedict? What emperor or what king ever raised the dead, or healed the leper, or gave sight to the blind?'

The pontiff terminates this letter by the advice to honour and prefer priests to all men, and to obey them before all kings.

This apotheosis of the priesthood, this claim of the pontifical supremacy over all the powers of the earth, was doubtless wide of the spirit of the Gospel. The imperious pontiff, excited by the ardour of the combat, evidently confounded in some degree the two kingdoms which Christ had so formally separated. That adroit instinct of power which is found in some men allied to the open expression of passion, whispered to the pontiff that those very bishops who had been detached from his cause, would be the soonest won back by the haughtiness of such language, and that in exalting the priesthood above all other powers, he subjected it to his own.

In fact, thus to depreciate all earthly dignities, and to abase, by arraigning their sins and their vices, those who held rank and power, thus to give the ascendency to the Church, was to dispense from gratitude and fidelity those rich bishops of Germany, who, having been promoted by the favour, whether bought or gratuitous, of Henry, still held to his cause, or stood hesitating between him and Rome. And if we consider the state of society at the time, and compare the two orders of men who ruled over it, we shall easily perceive that, in view of the

brutal passions and violence of the seigneurs, the pontiff, who anticipated keeping the bishops under a law of righteousness and purity, did not hesitate to insist on the absolute pre-eminence of those on whose moral superiority he counted.

But the same bitterness of zeal which he had exercised in reforming, even by lay violence, the relaxed morals of the inferior clergy, he now employed in favour of the superior ecclesiastics, by the abusive attacks he directed against all civil dignities. Was he indeed an austere and holy pontiff? Or was it a modern democrat who pronounced this terrible anathema against all the dignities of earth, denouncing them as so many inventions of the devil, by means of which some men have trampled on their fellow men, who had been created their equals by God?

We can understand now, that when in the religious calm of the seventeenth century, and under the secure power of the great monarch, the sublime and stately Bossuet came across these wonderfully bold judgments in the records of the eleventh century, and under a venerated name, he should have been terrified at them, and failed to recognise in them either the holiness of a Pope or the tradition of the Church. He must indeed have differed widely from such a doctrine, and the religious adversary of Henry of Germany could not fail to appear in his eyes almost as guilty of violence and abuse of authority as would have been Innocent VIII. if he had thought proper to excommunicate and depose Louis XIV.

But this parallel was unfair, as almost all historical examples are sure to be when there are long intervals

between the periods and circumstances compared. It seems to us that the great bishop, the state counsellor of Louis XIV., vainly endeavoured to discover a similarity of rights and a common interest between tumultuous sovereignties of the middle ages and the settled governments of his own times. What right had Henry of Germany, sometimes the tyrant of his great vassals, and sometimes under their dictation, to the Italian city of Rome, so often occupied, but never owned, by his predecessors? Why should not only the Pope on the banks of the Tiber, but the humblest priest of the Church of Milan, or the most lowly peasant in the valleys beyond the Po, have regarded some German margrave, detained by civil war in Saxony or in Bohemia, as his lawful prince, and the men-at-arms of this foreign chief, as a senate or a council? The only bond at that time which linked men of such different origin, manner, and language, was a common faith. But in Italy the faith was free and dominant; its ministers depended on their religious chiefs alone. In Germany, as in other parts of Europe, the power, riches, and dignity of the Church were seized by force, sold to the highest bidder, and at once degraded and usurped; and from these causes arises all the importance, and we may say the grandeur, of the quarrel of the investitures. It involved the liberty of the Church, together with the liberty, the strength and dignity of its members, and its gain of great characters and great men. Looking at the unity of each nation and its right to be free from foreign domination, and again at a matter graver still, the inviolability of conscience and of right against might, there never was resistance

more just than the pontiff's in his struggle with Henry; and as to the consequences of this resistance, and the frequent imitations of it, furnished by the middle ages, we must admit they arose from a salutary principle, and were a safeguard for humanity.

We have seen the truth of this in our own days, so far removed from Christian simplicity, and in our own country, a prey to scepticism and absolute power. When the rule of a conqueror oppressed Europe—when he held sway from Rome to Hamburg—the first thrust which pierced his armour was from that superannuated weapon, the pontifical excommunication. The bull that was secretly fastened on the doors of the churches of Rome in the night of June 10, 1809, was the first and loudest tocsin that rang through Europe. The antique formula —'For these causes, and by the authority of God Almighty, the holy apostles Peter and Paul'—this language, so scoffed at in the eighteenth century, and buried, as it were, under the ruins of the Church of France, coming suddenly from the lips of the Pope who had crowned Napoleon, was the first shock his power received.

He whom no power, human or divine, appeared to arrest in his course, was sensibly affected by the anathema issued by the old man who was his captive. He rushed from south to north in search of reprisals and victories, and fell furiously on the world; he multiplied his human sacrifices; but still the wound rankled in his heart. And under this bull, uttered in language so long unheard—the voices, in fact, of justice and the law divine—he who had been the terror of humanity,

was crushed by the united forces brought against him, and by the consequences of his own fury.

Such is the lesson, moral and historic, which is still read to us men of the nineteenth century, by that pontifical excommunication that was proclaimed in 1078 in the council of Rome, fulminated so often in the middle ages, and the text of which may be read in the canonical annals of Baronius.

In the Germany of the eleventh century, this engine of excommunication was to derive its greatest force from the indomitable tenacity of a disaffected people. Henry prolonged the exile and destitution of the principal bishops of Saxony whom he suspected of having taken part against him in the last war; and as he did not yet dare to appoint successors to them, he was powerless over the clergy, whose lamentations daily more and more embittered those of the population who were suffering from constant exactions under the presence of a foreign garrison. In fact, the officers of Henry had re-appeared everywhere, exercising increased distrust and rigour. Quartered in the forts and on the heights, they prevented the Saxon villages from connecting and uniting, and multiplied vexations which soon led this martial race to make the rising they ought to have prevented.

Henry had deprived the vanquished of their chiefs, but chance and despair gave them new ones.

Two sons of a seigneur castellan of the country, the Count Géron, who had been reduced to poverty by the confiscation of their fiefs, had fled beyond the Elbe. Having joined a band of fugitives like themselves, they repassed the river, and made incursions into their own

country, and sometimes had personal encounters with the king's officers who were engaged in levying tribute on the Saxon villages. Success added to their numbers; many of the Saxon freemen, formerly the men-at-arms of seigneurs who were now Henry's prisoners, ranged themselves around them. In a short time they had an army, which was well received by the inhabitants, and which forced Henry's garrisons to shut themselves up in their fortresses.

Rudolf, Duke of Suabia, and the other seigneurs, took advantage of this opportunity to set at liberty those Saxon princes whom Henry had given into their keeping. Hermann, Bishop of Metz, was the first of the hostages who set the example of infidelity. He and many other Saxon leaders who had been transported to Bavaria and Suabia reappeared in the midst of Saxony, assembled their vassals, and opened a regular campaign. Their deliverance and sudden return was hailed throughout Saxony as a testimony of the mercy of God and of the powerful intercession of the pontiff. The insurrection spread through the whole province; Saint Peter was the pass-word all over the country. In the course of a short time the places held by Henry's officers were carried by assault, and the conquerors dismissed the garrisons, having first exacted from them an oath that they would never more serve against Saxony.

In the midst of the unjust oppression which Henry exercised over Saxony, he thought he had done well and wisely in giving to Otho, the former Duke of Bavaria, the title and investiture of the former province. He had hoped, in compensating him thus, to have secured in him a powerful ally, who would ever

be opposed to the princes whose places he filled, and by whose spoils he was enriched; and he had entrusted him with fortifying anew the castle of Hartzburg and with constructing another fortress to command Goslar.

But Hermann, and the other chiefs of the revolted country, had no great difficulty in detaching Otho from a prince who had formerly been his prosecutor. They sent him word not to labour thus for the oppression of his country, and reproached him with having purchased the favour of the king by their ruin, and of having rendered himself the minister of his cruelties in return for receiving the government of Saxony.

Otho, who felt no attachment for Henry's cause, and had very few forces to defend it at any single point against the country in arms, replied at once by words of conciliation. He offered immediately to send an envoy to the king, to entreat him to set free those Saxon chiefs he still held captive, to destroy the fortresses he had rebuilt, and, finally, to restore to Saxony the ancient laws and customs it had so long claimed. He added, that if the king did not consent to this demand, there was no dignity, no fear, no oath that would hinder him, for his part, from joining them, and defending to his last breath the common cause.

Pledged by this promise, the Duke Otho dispatched his message to Henry immediately, and then, withdrawing the garrison that occupied the heights of Goslar, he made peace and alliance with the Saxon army.

The news of revolt in Saxony, and the numerous

defections, reached Henry in quick succession. In his rage, his first idea was to wreak his vengeance on the vassals who had broken their faith by giving liberty to his prisoners; and he thought of marching on the town of Metz, to chastise the bishop Hermann. But already the pontiff's letters, which had been circulated through Germany, the intrigues and enmities that had been stirred up in all directions, and the doubtful faith of the great vassals, created such embarrassment for the king, that he was forced to bear the insult he had received.

Determined once more to bring the whole force of Germany against Saxony, he convoked a diet at Worms for the following month, on the day of Pentecost. The assembly was numerous, but not one of the great vassals whom Henry justly suspected of conspiring against him, and whose efforts could either agitate or pacify the kingdom, was present.

Not being able to do anything with this assembly, Henry convoked another at Mayence, for the approaching feast of Saint Peter. He joined to his edict an earnest entreaty to all the great men of the kingdom; but, either out of hate to the king or fear of his betraying them, none of them came; and discord had already begun to show itself among the very partisans of the prince. The mighty name of Rome influenced those even who, to please the king, had anathematised the pontiff. Gregory VII., by his letters, and by his words likewise, raised up enemies to Henry. A bishop of Treves, who had passed through Rome at the beginning of these great debates, returned, bringing to the council of Mayence a zeal that was most injurious to the king.

This prelate, who was respected on account of his age and his virtues, stated that he could hold no communication with the Bishop of Mayence, the new Bishop of Cologne, nor with any of those who were most assiduous about the king, because they were all excommunicated. He had, he said, only been able with much entreaty to obtain permission of the Roman pontiff to communicate with the king by word of mouth, in the hope of converting him, but without the right of eating, drinking, or even praying with him.

The authority of this bishop influenced many, and they began to absent themselves from the palace, and refused to return thither, even at the king's request. Some bishops, it is true, who were in Henry's confidence, who had been promoted by his favour or compromised for his cause, sneered bitterly at these pretended scruples; they took no account, they said, of the anathema of a pontiff who, without convoking a synod, without hearing and without convincing them, had excommunicated them in a fit of anger. The Bishop of Treves and his partisans, they added, did not mean what they said; they had less respect for the Holy See than desire to overturn the royal authority, by covering their hatred of Henry under the cloak of religion; and that the king would do well to turn the sword which, in the words of the apostle, he had received for the punishment of his enemies, against the wicked in time. But Henry began to perceive he was too weak to adopt these violent resolutions, and, with the exception of a few bishops, his intimate advisers, he daily saw oaths broken, and friends fall away from him under the influence of the anathemas of Rome.

Not being able to march with his rebellious and disaffected vassals against united Saxony under its ancient chiefs, he once more tried to negotiate. He had retained near him the two Saxon bishops, Werner, of Magdeburg, and Werner, of Mersburg. He sent them, with other envoys, to propose peace to their countrymen. The two bishops did their bidding; but finding only distrust and hatred of the king, and being told that they must either remain from that moment in Saxony or never return thither, they stayed willingly.

Resolved to treat no more with Henry, who since the Pope's sentence they called the ex-king, the Saxon chiefs pledged themselves to each other, by oath and the exchange of hostages, to choose a new sovereign. They sent deputies to the Suabians to ask their alliance and support against Henry, the common enemy.

At the same time they addressed to Rome supplicating letters to the pontiff, entreating him, either in his own person or by his legates, to come to the help of an afflicted people. When we see a stirring and warlike prince like Henry hesitating to take up arms, we may judge what was then the power of the anathemas of Rome, ceaselessly reiterated in the letters which Gregory VII. sent to Germany. Perceiving that, under this growing torrent of malediction and disaffection, things were against him, and that if he would avoid being deserted or assailed on all sides, he must act against at least one enemy, Henry, in spite of the small number of troops at his disposal, resolved to march into Saxony. He entered Bohemia, whose duke was faithful to him, and receiving from him an accession to his troops, conferred on him in return the investiture of

Misnia, and entered that province in arms. He hoped to win over the Duke Otho once more, and, without any intention of following his advice, he counted on his assistance. But Otho, ill pleased at this new invasion, sent word to the king that, since his good and loyal counsels were rejected, he no longer considered himself bound by any oath of obedience, especially when he was ordered, in opposition to the laws of God and his soul's salvation, to take up arms, like a pagan, to shed innocent blood; and that from that moment, and guiltless of perjury, he should defend with all his power the just cause of his nation.

The other chiefs of Saxony and Thuringia held the same language. Even if some among them would have been willing to treat with Henry, they could not have done so. The rebellion was more violent and more widely spread than the last. It did not require to be fomented by the manœuvres or exhortations of its chiefs; the inhabitants took up arms of their own accord, and were ready to fight for freedom. Moreover, the new leaders who had come forward, the two sons of Count Géron, were most eager for the war, and would not let the word treaty, or the name of the king, be mentioned.

As soon as it was known that Henry had entered Misnia, they went forward to meet him, at the head of seven thousand horsemen; whilst all the country, dreading the resentment and ravages of Henry, prepared for a desperate resistance.

Henry, who, in the confusion and instability of these feudal quarrels, had counted on the secret alliance and on the open return of more than one Saxon chief, had not calculated on such a fierce defence, and had not

sufficient forces to check it. He had advanced too quickly into a hostile country, without reinforcements and without securing supplies; and he would have experienced some powerful check had he not promptly withdrawn, and if an overflow of the river Moldeau had not covered and protected his retreat.

He thus reached Bohemia, with his army weakened, and, hastily traversing Bavaria, reached Worms, gloomy and discouraged. He could, in fact, only contend against the anathemas of Rome under the banner of victory, and at present that advantage was denied to him.

The reiterated anathemas against the king, and the direct exhortations addressed by the pontiff to the greater number of the German princes, could not fail of their effect in presence of these partial reverses and the inaction that resulted from them. The three great feudatories, Rudolph, Duke of Suabia, Welf, Duke of Bavaria, Berthold, Duke of Carinthia, Adalbert, Bishop of Wurtzburg, Adalbert, Bishop of Worms, and many other seigneurs from divers parts of the kingdom, met at Ulm. It was there resolved to convoke, for the 16th of the ensuing November, a diet that should put an end to the evils by which the peace of the Church had been so long troubled; and all the seigneurs of Bavaria and Suabia, of Lorraine, Saxony, and Franconia were summoned, in the name of God, to render this service of their common country.

The formal announcement of this meeting, without reference or appeal to the king's authority, could not fail to excite great expectations, and by this very fact to undermine a power whose existence it ignored. Many

of Henry's most steadfast partisans took this opportunity of detaching themselves from his cause. Siegfried, Bishop of Mayence, set the example. He quitted the Court, and began to preach publicly on the necessity of a great reform in the kingdom, and of doing penance for the king's sins: and numerous voices among the clergy and people of this powerful diocese echoed the bishop's words.

Henry had but few resources to oppose to a party that gained strength daily. When once his fortune failed him, those in whom he trusted betrayed him. He had counted on the forced adhesions of some seigneurs whose sons he had detained as hostages, confiding them to the keeping of some chief presumed to be more faithful; but this precaution, more irritating than secure, turned against him: one of the sons of Otho, the former Duke of Bavaria, was sent to that seigneur by his jailor. Two other precious hostages, the sons of two powerful Saxon seigneurs, and relatives of the Bishop of Mayence, had been placed in the keeping of the Count Eberhart, Henry's most devoted servant. In their captivity these young men heard talk of the troubles in Germany and of the approaching assembly in Mayence, and they determined to make their escape at any risk. Taking advantage of a hunt to which they had accompanied the count, they struck through the wood as fast as their horses could carry them, reached the Maine, which they crossed in a fisherman's boat, and suddenly appeared in Mayence. The count followed, furious, and entering the city that was still nominally Henry's, endeavoured to force the house in which the fugitives had taken

refuge, and with loud threats claimed the hostages in the king's name. All the city was stirred, and a sedition had well-nigh broken out, but as soon as Siegfried heard of the disturbance, he sent Conrad, one of the seigneurs of the diocese, at the head of some men-at-arms, who repulsed the emperor's minister. The late captives were conducted to the episcopal palace, and sent thence, under escort, to their parents. This example of public disobedience exposed the extent of Henry's weakness, even to the provinces that had up to that time been the most quiet, and the boldness of the confederates was augmented by the event.

On the day fixed, a diet met at Tribur, on the left bank of the Rhine, a small and ancient town, but distinguished as the residence of more than one monarch of the Carlovingian race, whose grandeur it had witnessed, and also its fall in the humiliating deposition of the Emperor Charles the Fat, at the end of the ninth century. The very selection of the place seemed a defiance to Henry. The assembly was numerous, and included a great number of Suabian and Saxon seigneurs, some of whom were instigated by the ambition of their duke, others by a desire of vengeance and the love of their country. All were obstinately bent on depriving Henry of his throne and transferring it to a prince of their own election. But what gave this assembly the greatest importance in the eyes of the people was the presence of two legates of the apostolic see—Sicard, Patriarch of Aquilea, and Altmann, Bishop of Padua. They were delegated by the Pope to exercise the power of trying ecclesiastical

causes. Furthermore, Gregory had sent with them several laymen, who were reputed to have abandoned great riches, in order to dedicate themselves to God. They came to bear witness that the anathema against Henry had been justly pronounced, and to promise the consent and support of the Pope in favour of the election of another king. There can be no doubt that the Pope thought it well that, in this assembly of Germans, almost all laics and men-of-war, other voices should be heard than those of his ecclesiastical legates, who were held to maintain a certain gentleness and benignity.

These lay missionaries, sent by Rome, refused to hold communication with any prince or private individual who had been with Henry since the sentence of anathema had been pronounced, until such person had been absolved by Altmann, the vicar of the sovereign pontiff. With equal scrupulousness they avoided all those who had joined in the prayers with married priests or were accused of having bought ecclesiastical dignities. This severity showed forth the priestly power of the legates, and whether to repair a fault that had been committed or to make a boast of their ancient fidelity to Rome, all the members of the diet pressed round the envoys of the Pope—the ambitious Rudolph setting the example of this deference. For seven consecutive days, the seigneurs assembled at Tribur deliberated on the course to be followed to overthrow the state. Violent accusations were raised against the king; all the actions of his life, true or supposed, were passed in review—his turbulent minority, the scandals and disorders of his

youth, and both the public and private deeds of injustice of which he was accused. The presence of the legates and the general spirit of the assembly drew down reproaches on his private life and morals. But the genius of feudal society also showed itself in some complaints of quite a different order. The king was accused of having excluded the nobles of the kingdom from his familiarity, and to have raised to the highest honours men of low birth, with whom, they said, he passed all his time in plotting the extermination of the nobility; of having left the pagan nations unattacked, and of having turned his arms against his own subjects. He was also charged with destroying churches and monasteries, alienating the food of the servants of God for the sustenance of his soldiers, and, neglecting all thoughts of religion, of having devoted all his attention to making war and building fortresses, not to repel the barbarians, but for the oppression of his own subjects. They said there was no longer any solace for orphans and widows, any refuge for the oppressed, any respect for the Church; that one man only was the cause of all these evils, and that there was no remedy but to get rid of him and to elect a prince who would correct these disorders. It was a perfect torrent of abuse, and not one voice was raised in Henry's defence. At the same time we must note that, among all these violent expressions, there was no mention of any particular fact—no particular crime specified in this assembly of Tribur.

Meantime the young king was at the castle of Oppenheim, on the other bank of the Rhine, with a few troops and some devoted followers of his fortunes.

He was well informed as to what passed in the deliberations of Tribur, and every day he sent messages to the assembled seigneurs, promising to reform the abuses and to follow their counsels in governing the empire; representing that they should leave him at least the name of king, and the ensigns of royalty, with which he had been lawfully invested, and of which they could not deprive him without inflicting shame on themselves and disgrace on the Teutonic kingdom; and that if they distrusted his words, he was ready to confirm them by any oath and as many hostages as they pleased.

The seigneurs sent him word in reply, that there was no pledge in the world could bind him who had so often promised before God to amend his ways, and who, as soon as the danger was over, had broken through all his engagements like cobwebs, and cast himself anew into excess of wickedness. They said their resolution had neither been taken rashly nor hastily; that they had borne with him long, and had tried every means to move him; but that his vices were too inveterate and too baleful to allow room for hope. While they had been too patiently suffering his lawlessness, the State had fallen to pieces, the peace of the churches was troubled, the majesty of the empire gone, and, in the words of the prophet, cursing and lying, murder, and robbery, and adultery, had increased, and blood called for blood.

To these expressions, dictated no doubt by the legates of the pontiff, the assembly of Tribur added a formal declaration of its dependence on Rome. 'Now,' said they, 'that for his crimes Henry has been cut off from the Church by the sword of anathema, we can

hold no communication with him without failing in what we owe to our faith. When the Roman pontiff, by his authority apostolic, has loosed us from the oaths by which we were bound, we should be mad not to seize with both hands the opportunity that is offered to us by Almighty God. Let us then give no heed to Henry's vain arguments; we are firmly resolved to choose without delay a man to march at our head, and to fight with us against the enemy of the Lord, to abase and destroy the greatness of whomsoever shall rise up against the honour and the truth of God, against God's authority and the authority of the Holy Roman Church.

Henry repeated his messages in vain; the confederates were inflexible in their refusal. In any other situation, the king would doubtless have had recourse to force; but though he had some troops with him, he could not attempt the passage of the Rhine. Siegfried, Archbishop of Mayence, had taken care to draw up all the barques and vessels on the opposite side. The confederates had decided to profit by this circumstance to attack Henry, and the prince being warned of their intention, stood ready with his men-at-arms to fight the enemy on their landing.

But, at the last moment, there was hesitation in the assembly of Tribur. Rudolph and his supporters could not see the martial young king reduced to despair unmoved; and the apostolic legates, following their instructions, had no wish to promote a combat, the issue of which might embolden the conqueror, whoever he was, to dispense with the pardon or with the support of Rome.

It was then resolved not to have recourse to arms, but to try once more negotiations with the king, whose late perils might, it was thought, have rendered him more tractable. The diet still sitting, some Suabian and Saxon deputies crossed the Rhine, and came in the name of the assembly to the king, declaring haughtily that, notwithstanding his contempt of the laws, the lords of Suabia and of Saxony would observe them in their dealings with him, and that however manifest were the infractions and the violence of which he was accused, they desired entirely to reserve the cognisance of these matters for the judgment of the Roman pontiff; that in consequence they had invited the Roman pontiff to come to the city of Augsburg at the ensuing feast of the Purification of the Virgin, February 2, to hear in an assembly of the seigneurs of the kingdom the accusations against the king, and also his defence, and to condemn him or absolve him. They added, that if Henry did not obtain the annulling of his excommunication before the anniversary of the day on which it had been pronounced, he would be fallen for ever, and debarred from resuming the administration of the kingdom, as the laws did not permit him who had incurred excommunication to reign beyond a year; that if, on the contrary, he accepted the conditions proposed, and promised to show himself obedient and docile to the Roman pontiff in all things, they would accept his so doing as a proof of his good faith. They then prescribed that he should instantly banish from his Court and person all those whom the Pope had excommunicated, and repair without military display to the town of Spires, and that there, with the Bishop

of Verdun and some other ministers approved by the seigneurs, he should lead a private life, entering no church, taking no part in public affairs, without pomp and without suite, until the day fixed for the pontifical trial. Lastly, they stipulated that the episcopal city of Worms should be restored to its bishop, its garrison withdrawn, and that the king should give surety to the bishop, both by oath and by hostages, against any revolt or treason on the part of the inhabitants; and that if either one of these conditions were violated by the king, then, free from all reproach and guiltless of any perjury, the nobles should, without waiting for the arrival of the pontiff, determine what was necessary for the safety of the State.

However rigorous and humiliating this convention appeared, Henry accepted it in order to gain time, and no doubt as a matter of necessity. Seemingly, he saw in delay some chance of breaking or weakening the actual federation, and he hoped better things from an assembly than from the diet of Tribur, composed wholly of his enemies. He scrupulously then fulfilled the conditions laid down; he banished from his camp all the faithful counsellors who had been excommunicated on his account—the bishops of Cologne, Hamburg, Strasburg, Bâle, Spires, Lausanne, Zeitz, and Osnabruck, and also his confidants, Ulric of Cosheim, and the Count Eberhard. He sent orders, without delay, to his soldiers in garrison at Worms, to retire and open the city to the bishop. Finally, he dismissed with thanks, the troops which had been brought to him by many of his faithful vassals, and dispersed his own small army, and then retired to the city of Spires, there

to live in a sort of penance, under the eye of the counsellors that were allowed to remain with him, or imposed on him by the diet.[1]

It was hard for Henry's pride to make such sacrifices; but he thus warded off the immediate danger by which he was threatened—an immediate election, which would give a leader to the civil war. The assembly of Tribur once broken up without having made a king of Germany, he hoped by force or fraud to recover the advantage. However, in order the better to secure the future assembly of Augsburg, the Suabian and Saxon seigneurs, before retiring with their troops, made Henry write an humble letter to the Holy Father, promising his entire obedience, and that he would submit to his judgment in the projected meeting. The Archbishop of Treves, who had been attached to Henry's cause, but recently absolved by the legates, was the bearer of this missive. But the confederates, full of distrust, deputed to Rome at the same time the Count Mangold and others to supervise the king's negotiations, and to entreat the Pope not to refuse to Germany, afflicted as it was, the succour of his holy presence.[2] Then, having taken an oath in common not to acknowledge Henry as king if he remained excommunicated beyond a year, and having mutually pledged themselves to aid each other against his vengeance, they returned triumphant and well satisfied, each to his own province, until the great assembly of Augsburg.

[1] Spiræ cum tutoribus et actoribus qui a primatibus regni deputati sunt ipsi, aliquandiu more pœnitentium stetit.—Berthold, *Const. Chr.* p. 38.

[2] Primates regni dolos et vecordiam solitam conciliariorum metuentes et ipsi legatos boni testimonii qui his omnibus quæ ibidem acta sunt præsto fuerant Roman dirigunt.—*Ibid.* p. 37.

But Henry soon changed his mind in regard to the engagement he had entered into when he contemplated the danger of awaiting the Pope in Germany. Having, it is said, secretly altered the letter that he wrote in concert with the diet, he merely asked the Pope for an interview at Rome, making no mention whatever of Augsburg. When the two embassies arrived in presence of the pontiff, they contradicted each other in reading the king's letter. The Empress Agnes, always so indifferent to her son's troubles, herself advised the pontiff not to put any faith in him. Gregory VII., convinced of the importance of his journey to Germany, both by the prayers of the princes and the fears of Henry, refused the audience in Rome, and replied that, please God, he would himself go to Augsburg about the feast of the Purification to hear Henry, and to reconcile him with the Church in presence of the nobility of his kingdom.

At the same time, with many oral directions, he placed a letter to the nobles and people of Germany in the hands of the envoys of the diet.

'We have resolved,' wrote he, 'weak and unworthy servant of the Prince of the Apostles, as we are, by the help of divine goodness to come unto you, and so to hasten our departure without waiting for the greater number of our liegemen, that we may be at Mantua on January 15. It is our desire and intention, such is the confidence we have in you, to brave every peril, and, if need be, to shed our blood for the liberty of the Church and the safety of the Empire. Be it yours to choose to receive and accompany us, those who are the fittest and best entitled to fulfil that office. Be careful, moreover, to secure peace in your territories, so that nothing may

interfere with our plans. As to the contentions we have had with the king's envoys, and the replies we have opposed to his arguments, all the details in fact that are wanting in this letter will be given to you by our messengers. As we have trusted them for the things that through their agency you have promised to Saint Peter and to us, you may rely on what they tell you from us.'

Rudolf of Rheinfelden, who received this message in the absence of the diet, undertook to furnish the escort required and to advance through the gorges of the Tyrol, beyond Klausen, to conduct Gregory VII. to Augsburg, by the way of Trent and Inspruck.

Henry, meantime, received with bitter mortification the intelligence of the Pope's refusal to give him audience in Rome, and of his fixed intention of coming to Germany. The humiliation of appearing on a set day, like a criminal before his hostile vassals, the fear that the Pope would fulminate new anathemas against him in the centre of Germany, among his discontented subjects; anxiety as to the kingdom of Italy, and the dread of losing his two crowns at once, so agitated Henry's mind, that the present state of things seemed to him unbearable.

Soon, too, he learned that many of his old partisans, who had been excommunicated on his account, and more particularly the bishops, had set out for Italy to throw themselves at the Pope's feet, and by asking absolution for themselves, to cast involuntary reflections on him by their repentance. He still hesitated to do likewise; and days and weeks passed in this indecision. Shut up in the castle of Spires, with a wife he loved not, far from the noisy fêtes of his former Court, deprived alike

of the chase and of war, Henry could only look forward to a period of detestable inaction followed by his trial and his fall. He made up his mind at last to do anything that should deliver him from the anathema before the year came round. Anything rather than wait the arrival of the Pope in Germany, and then place his cause in the hands of a judge who was his enemy, and before accusers who were implacable. To this certain ruin he preferred any humiliation, any danger: preferred to it essaying the doubtful faith of his subjects in Italy, going forward and meeting the Pope,[1] and obtaining at any price the removal of the excommunication, in the hope that he might then recover his friends, make head against his enemies, fight or negotiate. Possibly, too, when he thought of his ancestors, he believed that he also might find an army on the other side of the mountains, and terrify, at close quarters, the pontiff who was formidable at a distance; at least he could bar his march, and intercept his journey even while he asked his pardon.

Full of these ideas, Henry first sought to secure himself a mediator with the Pope. He wrote to his godfather, the Abbot of Cluny, a man whose name was powerful throughout Christendom, and who, though devoted to the Holy See, had always shown great consideration for the Empire. The style of this letter is noteworthy on account of the pious deference it expresses:

'Henry, by the grace of God, King of the Romans,

[1] Proposuit namque, ut collecta pecunia qualitercumque conducta maxima suarum militari copia territum eum in fugam coëgissit. . . . Si autem papam metu, minis et blanditiis Romanorum convictum, morigerum sibi rex per omnia efficeret, pium sibi, adversariis autem suis. Severissimum deinceps fore, stultissime satis præmeditabatur.—Berthold, *Const.* vol. ii. p. 39

Augustus, to the Venerable Abbot Hugh, the homage of a son to a father.

'It is a long time, lord and father, since you visited your sick son and solaced with your consolations this wounded heart. We desire now to labour for the restoration of the churches, which in our day and by our sin have fallen to ruin; and we desire to expiate the disasters we have brought on the Church by the consolidation of peace and justice.'

To his professions of regret and submission he added the promise most sure to touch the pious fervour of the Abbot of Cluny, by responding to the desire for the crusade that had already been stirred up in Western Christendom. 'We beg to inform you,' said he, 'that if by the favour of God we succeed in reconciling the priesthood and the empire, as soon as peace is established we intend to go to Jerusalem and to see the Holy Land, where our Lord showed himself to men and lived among them, so that we may adore him in the very place where we know he suffered for us buffetings and stripes, crucifixion, and death, and burial.'

As he wrote these words, Henry must bitterly have reflected that some years sooner he might have visited as a conqueror that Holy Land to which he now proposed going as a pilgrim. A second letter to the abbot further attests the need he had of his support, and the dread with which the war in which he was engaged against Rome inspired him. Commending himself to the prayers of the abbot and of the community of Cluny, and recalling to their remembrance the zeal of his ancestors in protecting the property they possessed in the Teutonic kingdoms and in Italy, he added: 'Pray, we beseech

you, for that unity of the empire and the priesthood we desire and seek, so that the lord Pope march not against us.' The Abbot Hugh did, in fact, set out for Italy, and we shall hereafter find him exercising the sought-for mediation.

With the same view, but without revealing his designs, he wrote a letter to Matilda, begging her to travel through Lombardy and to give him an audience at the frontier.[1] Lastly, he sent Gregory VII. a new message, humbly protesting his submission and repentance. These measures taken, Henry, by the help of the Bishop of Verdun, whom the diet had left with him, prepared for flight. His royal domains being sequestered, he had no means of defraying the expenses of a long journey, and secretly applied to many of those seigneurs whom he had befriended in the day of his power; very few responded to his appeal, and one German noble only, not conspicuous either by his birth or his wealth, consented to accompany him. But, on the other hand, as he was deserted rather than guarded, he found no difficulty in leaving Spires, with his wife and his son, a few days before the feast of Christmas.

Some other excommunicated persons left at the same time; but thinking the king's cause worse than their own, they would not travel with him.[2]

Henry, taking a circuitous road through Burgundy, first went to Besançon, to have an interview with William Tête-Hardi, his wife's uncle, a magnificent and

[1] Ad consobrinam Mathildam misit, ut ipsa consilium caperet, quo papa adveniret urbe Longobardiâ peteret veniam sibi dignam.—*Doniz. apud Murat.* p. 365.

[2] Non tamen in societatem itineris regem admittere, principum vel potius Romani pontificis metu absterriti, patiebantur.—*Lamb. Schaf.*

powerful seigneur, whose aid Gregory VII. had invoked at his accession, against Robert Guiscard. The king was courteously received by the count, stayed with him Christmas Day, and set out with his suite the following morning[1] to reach the Alps by the Jura. It was the only route open to him. He knew that the three dukes, Rudolf, Welf, and Berthold occupied and guarded all the passages of the Tyrol, Carniola, and Carinthia that led to Italy.[2] He hoped, on the contrary, to obtain easy access to the lands of his mother-in-law, Adelaide of Suza, widow of Count Otho, who either in her own right, or her son's right, held possessions on each side of the Alps, the Valais, and the plain of Aosta, Savoy, and the duchy of Turin.

Having made all haste to reach the small town of Vevay,[3] the king found there the Countess Adelaide and her second son, the Count Amadeus. He was received by them with honour; but Adelaide, who was an imperious princess and zealous catholic, showed herself severe in the conditions she imposed on Henry's passage. Being the mother-in-law of Rudolph as well as of Henry, she might choose between the two rivals, and her veneration for Gregory VII., who had often styled her the daughter of Saint Peter, and the praises of Peter Damien, who compared her to Deborah, prophetess and judge of the people,[4] did not dispose her

[1] Uno ibidem die vix commoratus.—*Berth. Const. Chronic.* p. 41.

[2] Certò compererat duces Rodolphum, Wolf et Bertholdum omnes vias omnesque aditus, qui ad Italiam mittunt, quos vulgato nomine clusas vocant, appositis custodibus anticipasse.—*Lamb. Schaf.* p. 246.

[3] Cum in locum qui Civis (lege *Vivis*) dicitur, venisset, obviam habuit socrum suam filiumque ejus Amedeum nomine.—*Ibid.*

[4] In memoriam revocatur Deborah prophetis, ad cujus exemplum, sine virili regis auxilio, regni pondus sustines.—*Petri Damien. Epist.* p. 329.

to regard with favour the misfortunes of an excommunicated son-in-law. The young Amadeus, whom Gregory VII. had numbered among the faithful of Saint Peter, was not better disposed to Henry. Both mother and son taking advantage of his circumstances, refused him a passage through their territories unless he ceded to them five of the Italian bishoprics that were contiguous to their possessions. The demand seemed intolerable to the king's counsellors. Pressed for time and urged by his misfortunes, he protested and entreated, and even availed himself of the influence and tears of his wife, not long ago so despised by him; but at first he could make no impression on either the countess or her son—'So greatly,' says a pious contemporary, 'had the indignation of the Lord hardened the hearts of men and of even his friends and relations towards him.[1]

At length, by dint of entreaty, he induced them to accept as payment one province of Burgundy—Bugey, on the frontier of Savoy, and at this sacrifice he had a free passage and some succours. It would even appear that the Countess Adelaide, after having imposed such hard conditions on her son-in-law, began to feel for the danger in which her daughter was involved, and determined to share it by crossing the mountains with her, in order to, at a future day, assist Henry with her mediation.

Vevay, whence the noble travellers set out, was the direct route of the Great Saint Bernard, and one of the antique stations in the itinerary of Antoninus, when he crossed the Alps on his progress from Milan to Mayence.

[1] Ita indignatio domini . . . . etiam amicos et genere propinquos ab eo averterat.—*Lamb. Schaf.* p. 246.

Though the Roman road had been destroyed by time and the invasions of the barbarians, the pass had not ceased to be frequented in the middle ages. The armies of Charlemagne and of his son had often crossed it, as the legions had done before them. It was the road the pilgrims generally took, and the same over which, thirty years before, the monk Hildebrand had led from Besançon the German Pope Leo XI. The pass, at all times difficult, was considered impracticable in winter.

The king quitted Vevay about Janaury 1 with all his suite, augmented by the succours of Adelaide. In a few hours he scaled the mountains and rugged road of Saint Maurice, that ancient village consecrated by the blood of the Theban legion. Having crossed the Rhone near this place, he traversed Martigny, an old Roman post, and was then at the foot of the Alps.

The winter of 1076–77 is particularised in the chronicles as the longest and most severe of the eleventh century. The frost lasted in Germany five entire months. Almost all the vines perished, the Rhine was frozen, and people crossed on the ice, from Martinmas to the begining of April. To this inclemency the bitter climate of the Alps added all its rigours. The first gorges of the mountains were filled with snow; and their summits bristling with ice, terrified the travellers. In the place where the road lay, the men and horses could scarcely keep their feet upon the steep and frozen ascent. But Henry was in haste, the fatal term was drawing near.[1] A few more weeks, and the year which

[1] Dies anniversarius, quo rex in excommunicationem devenerat, e vicino imminens, nullas accelerandi itineris moras patiebatur; quia, nisi ante eam diem anathemate absolveretur, decretum moverat communi principum sen-

the princes had fixed for claiming absolution from their allegiance expired, his enemies would proclaim his deposition from the empire, and he should arrive too late for even the Pope's forgiveness to avail him. He pressed on then with his party. The country people, accustomed to these Alpine heights, served as guides, for money, and cleared the road to some extent by driving oxen over it.[1] The royal company made their way in much suffering and danger. Henry, courageous as on the battle-field, carefully watched over his wife and child, and hurried on his men.[2]

After marching some miles they reached the greatest elevation of the pass, that arid height partly covered with a lake, ever frozen, and near which, at the end of the tenth century, Bernard de Menton, the holy Archdeacon of Aosta, cast down an ancient statue of Jupiter, and built a convent and a hospice for travellers—a house of charity that was always open, says the legend.[3] This winter, however, when the pass had been attempted by none, the convent was deserted. The king and his companions at least found a shelter there during one

tentia et causâ in perpetuum cecidisset et regnum sine ullo deinceps restitutionis remedio amisisset.—*Lamb. Schaf.* p. 246.

[1] Quosdam ex indigenis locorum peritos . . . . mercede conduxit, qui comitatem ejus, per abruptum montem et moles nivium præcederent.—*Ibid.*

[2] Les incidents de cette traversée des Alpes, alors si périlleuse en hiver, se retrouvent dans un autre récit du moyen âge—l'itinéraire d'un aspirant au siége de Liége, dénoncé à Rome, allant se justifier, et revenant par la même route quelque temps après Noël, vers le milieu du douzième siècle. Le passage s'accomplit également par le mont Jaux, avec le secours de guides armés de crocs de fer, en rampant sur les pieds et les mains sous d'épaisses avalanches, et à travers bien des chutes et des postes de chevaux et d'hommes.—Acher, *Spiceleg.* vol. ii. p. 703; *in gest. abb. Imdonensium.*

[3] Ambo cœnobium sub nomine S. Nicolai construi ac dolari Bernardus bona sua exponendo, procuravit, nec non vias et itinera per abrupta explanari. . . . Illa domus semper patet; procurator nunquam latet, propinans cibaria. *Act. Sanct. Jun.* vol. ii. pp. 1083 et 1078.

icy night on the Alps. But having got thus far by the help of the guides and their own struggles, they could proceed no farther. The other side of the mountain, more sudden and steep on the Italian side, was like a perpendicular wall of ice—there was no hold for the horses' feet ; they slung some of them down in ropes, and slid down others fastened, with their legs tied to planks,[1] but the greater number were either killed or wounded in the operation.[2] The men, sometimes creeping on their hands and feet, then trying a few steps, then falling and rolling, at length reached some less rapid slopes. The queen, her young son, and some women who attended on them, were placed in sledges hastily made of ox-hides, and which the guides by the help of some iron hooks drew forward with the greatest caution, while the mountain storm raged above their heads.[3] Thus, after much suffering, the king and his suite at last came to the entrance of Italy under a more clement sky, in the valley of Aosta.

The news of Henry's journey was already spread abroad, and excited the liveliest expectations, especially in those provinces of Lombardy which, long alienated from the influence of Rome, then preferred the domination of the King of Germany to the visits and the reforms of the Pope's legates. This state of things ensued from what was called the schism of Milan,

[1] Equorum alios per machinas quasdam summittebant, alios colligatis pedibus trahebant.—*Lamb. Schaf.*

[2] Nunc manibus et pedibus reptando, nunc ductorum suorum humeris innetendo, interdum titubante per lubricum gressu cadendo, et longius volutando, vix tandem aliquando cum gravi salutis suæ periculo ad campestria pervenerunt.—*Ibid.*

[3] Reginam et alias in obsequio ejus erant mulieres, boum coriis impositas duces itineris conductu præuntes deorsum trahebant.—*Ibid.*

that was already old. The clergy of that part of Italy protested against the discipline of celibacy, and exempted themselves from it by the licence of their lives, and often by marriages that the laws of the country did not forbid, and which that lax Church itself consecrated.

The antipathy that had been displayed in some of the towns of Germany against the decrees of the Pope, in regard to priests that were living with wives or concubines, was equally marked in the diocese of Milan, and met there with no obstacle from rich bishops and mighty seigneurs, zealous out of ambition for the far-off power of the Pope. Whether priests or laymen, almost every one in Milan saluted Henry's arrival with joy, and hoped consequences from it wholly disfavourable to Rome. The greater number, remembering the conduct of Henry III., were ready to conclude that his young and martial son would not exhibit less firmness. The bishops and other ecclesiastics who had been attacked by the Pope, said that the Emperor had come to avenge them, to humble the haughty pontiff, and, maybe, to elect another Pope.

An immense multitude hastened to meet Henry on his descent from the Alps, and when he entered the bishopric of Turin, his train was instantly increased by the accession of all the bishops of Italy who had been excommunicated on his account. But Henry received them with embarrassment. He dared not avow the loss of his power in Germany; he could not disguise the slenderness of his escort or his incapacity to avenge his partisans, when the object of his own journey was to submit and humiliate himself. But in presence of the bishops he affected to have come on their

account only, and with the intention of protecting them by the majesty of his rank. He should, he said, have an explanation with the Pope, and enquire his reasons for pronouncing the wrongful sentence under which they lay.

The bishops, astonished to hear such language, entreated Henry not to acknowledge as pontiff and father apostolic the man whose authority they had by his orders renounced, and whom they had by public anathema cut off from the Church for ever. At the same time they perceived the difficulty in which Henry was placed; too feeble, with a disputed title, to nullify the intentions of the nobles of his kingdom, and irritate them by a new cause of offence; they resolved, then, to yield to necessity, and to submit.

They hoped, they said, that after so necessary an interview, Henry would join them again, in order to deliver himself and his kingdom from that sacrilegious pontiff; otherwise, he must be aware that that oppressive and cunning tyranny, which assumed the fair title of apostolic authority, would deprive him of his throne and his life, and involve in his own overthrow all who had proved themselves ready to brave ruin and death in his cause.

Meantime, at the date when Henry set out for Italy, Gregory VII. had determined to go to Germany, in spite of the fears of the leading men in Rome, who were uneasy at the prospect of such a journey; and they brought forward the danger of traversing the schismatic and seditious province of Lombardy, of going, trusting to the faith of foreign guides, into that hostile country where his holy predecessor had died captive,

and of placing himself, amid the shock of arms, between a sovereign who was still so formidable, and princes so often disunited. But the Pope gave small heed to these counsels. Eager, says a chronicler, to give his life for his people, he was anxious to arrive at the appointed day at the place where the promised escort was to await him. Relying on the fealty and the ambition of Rudolph, he was determined there should be no failure on his side; and, doubtless, he felt flattered at the prospect of appearing as the supreme arbiter of Germany in the centre of Germany itself—no longer fulminating mysterious decrees at a distance, but, accessible to all, come to exact obedience in the name of the authority inviolable, of which he believed himself the fountain. A faithful ally, moreover, was ready to guard his route and, by securing his passage through Northern Italy, enable him to face, without danger, the factious disposition of the Lombards, and what was qualified as their impiety too.

Matilda was expected in Rome, free henceforth from every impediment and every engagement, and at liberty to devote to the Pope, as her father apostolic and true seigneur, the forces and riches of a powerful Italian principality.

Matilda was at this time thirty years of age; her stately grace and great beauty were matchless. She had inherited the heroism of her father, the valiant knight Boniface, Lord of Lucca and Margrave of Tuscany, who had died while she was yet a child, and had grown up beside her intrepid and pious mother Beatrice. It is true she was separated from her for a short space by the persecution of Germany, but,

restored to her tenderness and a sharer in all her perils, she had at her desire wedded, at twenty years of age, Gottfried of Lorraine, the son of the first wife of the second husband of Beatrice. But this young man did not possess the noble nature of his father, that Duke Gottfried whose hand Beatrice had accepted in order to make a stand against the encroachments of the Empire, and to provide a protector for the minority of her daughter. Small and deformed in person, though brave and skilful in arms, he failed to gain the affections of the fair and haughty Matilda, who soon had cause to regret this union, and to despise in him, far more than his deformity, the calculations of his sordid ambition, his interested zeal for the Empire, and his desertion of the Italian cause. Never thenceforward would she consent to accompany him beyond the Alps, and when the death of the Duke Gottfried in 1069 transferred to his son the title of Duke of Lorraine, which was readily confirmed by the King of Germany, she had more steadfastly than ever refused to leave her mother, now a second time a widow, and to quit the blue sky and rising arts of Pisa and Florence, either for a castle in Lorraine or for the mistrusted court or rude camp of Henry. The glorious pontificate commenced in 1073, must have furnished an additional attraction for her stay at Florence and near Rome. Gregory VII., we may well believe, did not dissuade her from this decision in the difficulties which he foresaw, and was soon to experience, in the direction of Germany. When consulted by Beatrice, he had replied: 'As to our dear daughter Matilda, the handmaid of blessed Peter, I will whatever thou wilt. But for the state of life she

should choose under the guidance of Almighty God, I cannot yet speak with certainty.' And, while waiting for his decision and future events, Matilda remained at a distance from the Empire and from a husband whose person and policy she equally despised. Gottfried, on his side, humiliated by this disdain and preoccupied with the cares of his new government, had passed three or four years without visiting the March of Italy, leaving Matilda in a sort of widowhood, says a chronicler of the time.

The weak and sterile bond that united them was severed by an accidental death. In the midst of the discontent which Gottfried had excited in Lorraine by his ardent zeal for Henry, his levies of men, and his public boastings that he would go wherever his sovereign pleased, to enthrone another Pope at Rome, he was assassinated in the night by a servant. The criminal remained undiscovered and unpunished in the troubles of the time; and the duchy of Lorraine, in consideration of a thousand marks that were paid to the King of Germany, passed to the young nephew of the unfortunate duke, that Godfrey de Bouillon who was destined, under Henry's banner, to assault the walls of Rome defended by the Pope, to gain absolution for so doing, long afterwards, at Jerusalem, by delivering the tomb of Christ, and to become, by Tasso's song, the greatest Christian name of the middle ages.

Matilda saw in her new condition only the liberty of showing more complete attachment to the Church; and soon came a loss which left her with no other dominant affection, no other duty. Soon after Gottfried's violent death, at the commencement of the year

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1076, Beatrice, who for many years had made her daughter a partner in all the rights of the principality which she held in her own right and that of her first husband, was taken from her by death. She to whom Gregory VII. had written, in a letter addressed to both princesses: 'If I am loved as I love, I feel sure that there is no mortal you prefer to me'—died at Pisa, in the midst of the anxieties which the actual crisis of the Church added to the many trials she had borne. With her last breath she commended her daughter to the holy guardianship of the Pope, and Rome to the courage of her daughter.

The young countess, in her affliction, had accepted the noble task with ardour. After the funeral ceremonies, which were performed amid the people's tears, Beatrice was entombed in the cathedral of Pisa, with the humble epitaph she had dictated: 'Though a sinner, I was called the Lady Beatrice; and now I, once a countess, lie beneath this tomb. Whoever thou art, say three paternosters for my soul.'

Matilda courageously set about fulfilling her pious mother's wish. Sure that her own power was acknowledged throughout all her paternal inheritance, in Mantua, Lucca, Modena, and the whole of Tuscany, she, without waiting for investiture from her suzerain of Germany, assembled forces to march to the help of the Pope, as fifteen years before her mother Beatrice, taking her as a young girl with her to the frontier of Lombardy, combated the German invasion of the anti-pope Cadalaus, and prepared the way for Alexander, the Pope elected by the Romans, and for the cardinal Hildebrand.

Now it was the cardinal become pope whom Matilda, become a sovereign, was going to seek in Rome to conduct through Lombardy, thence to menace the king of Germany in his turn.

The letters of Henry, which reached her just at this time, and which entreated her mediation with the Pope to obtain a conference in Rome, could not fail to be to her an indication of danger and concealed treason; and, after some further preparations, summoned, no doubt, by the pontiff's message, she set out for Rome with the priests who formed the rigid court of Pisa, the bishop of Lucca, Anselm, her confessor, and that *élite* of men-at-arms, Italians and others, whom the ancient military renown of the Margrave Boniface had attracted, and which had added to its numbers under Beatrice and Gottfried. She rode on horseback at their head, obeyed with respect and served with love. Touched by her grief, her piety, and her courage, the people, who knelt down as she passed, already styled her the 'Great Countess.'

Talking with equal ease German, French, and Provençal to the knights of her suite, and speaking with the scholars and priests in the tongue of the ancient Romans and the Church, Matilda swayed without effort all who approached her. She might have been likened to an angel with a fiery sword, sent from on high for the defence of the altar and the salvation of Italy, against those whom Italy called, and had cause to call, barbarians.

That celestial countenance, many of whose lineaments are doubtless lost to us, lived long in the hearts of the Italians. In the following century they were limned

after tradition by the pencil of Cimabue, under the aspect of a virgin in martial array, whose face was half-hidden by a veil, who held the reins of a fiery steed in one hand, and in the other, a pomegranate flower, the symbol of her stainless purity. Later still the genius of poetry represented her under the form of a fair and gentle woman, singing hymns and gathering flowers on the shores of Lethe, in Eden, between the inner circle of purgatory and the entrance to the kingdom of the blessed; and so sought to immortalise the living affection for the Church, in the person and under the very name of Matilda, who, with graceful step and in quality of a divine messenger, announces the triumph and precedes the mystic chariot of Rome, on which is stationed the glorified Beatrice, the Beatrice of Dante. Splendid apotheosis, which gives to Matilda the first place after her whom the poet had loved! And later, again, do we not meet this heroic and graceful image?

Was it not Matilda who inspired Tasso's impassioned verse? Does she not breathe anew in the person of Clorinda—that woman-warrior of the East, that blood-stained maiden, baptized upon the battle-field by her conqueror's hand?

Thus has history been the handmaid of poetry, and the grandeur which humanity has at certain periods attained, has in after times seemed as the model of ideal perfection. But in this season of war and enmity, Matilda's lofty fervour was far from being appreciated and honoured by all her contemporaries. The great countess of Tuscany was calumniated even as the humble village maiden; Matilda like Joan of Arc. All the

frailty, the simony and the vices, that Gregory VII. opposed by the severity of his institutions and his discipline, revenged itself by assailing the innocence of his life and the sanctity of his friendships. The Council of Worms, which had met the year before under Henry, had encouraged these falsehoods by an accumulation of charges against a pontiff surrounded, as he said, by a circle of silly women, a corrupter infected with the spirit of Python, separating husbands from their wives, and then alluring their spouses. The schismatic and married priests of Milan repeated these slanders with delight, and they were carefully disseminated among the populations of the Lombard cities, naturally hostile to Tuscany and to Rome. An absurd story set forth that the balcony of the Vatican at Rome, whereon the Pope and the princess sometimes stood to show themselves to the people, having suddenly given way by the just judgment of God, had been supported in the air by the agency of demons. But at Rome these wretched inventions gained no credit, and, according to the vigorous language of a German contemporary, the strictly apostolic life led by the Pope, and the sublimity of his commerce with the world, permitted no shadow to obscure the light of his virtue. Gregory VII. loved in Matilda a soul worthy of his own, and which God had confided to his care. Matilda venerated, even to idolatry, in Gregory VII. a father, a saint, and a great man. And if anything human mingled with this religious and filial worship, it was resentment of the former treatment of Beatrice, aversion for the German emperors, and paternal gratitude towards him who stretched out his arm against this foreign yoke, and who could dash it in pieces by his anathema.

The arrival of Matilda in Rome, amid the transports of the people, determined without further delay the departure of the Pope for Mantua and the confines of the Tyrol. But, before quitting his Church, where his anxious clergy were so desirous to keep him, Gregory claimed the promises of the German princes in a new letter:

'I, Pontiff, servant of the prince of the apostles, in opposition to the advice of the Romans, come unto you, trusting in the mercy of God and your own catholicity, ready to suffer death for the glory of God and your salvation, and as Christ has given his life for us; for our condition is, through much tribulation to aim at and to reach the kingdom of heaven. For you, well-beloved brethren, do ye in such wise that I may, by God's help, both visit you and help you in all things. May He bless you in whose words it was said to me on the day of my ordination, All that thou blessest shall be blessed, all that thou cursest on earth shall be cursed in heaven.'

Then, having solemnly taken leave of the Roman clergy and the principal men of the city, Gregory began his journey at the end of December 1076, accompanied by some cardinals, the Abbot Hugh, and the Countess Matilda, and followed by a body of knights and men-at-arms. He went, almost without stopping, as far as Verceil, on the way to Mantua. Having reached the former place, he learned the arrival of the king and the movement excited in Piedmont and Lombardy by his presence. This circumstance would not perhaps have altered his resolution, but the expected succours to enable him to carry it out were wanting.

The intelligence that the king had left Spires, and of his rapid and mysterious flight across the Alps, had disconcerted the heads of the diet. Fearing some bold stroke on the part of the prince, of whose plans they knew nothing—apprehensive of some ambuscade, and of his possible return at the head of his Italian vassals against his German subjects—they redoubled their vigilance in guarding the passes and fortified positions of their own territory, but proceeded no farther; and Rudolph did not lead forward the promised escort that should have started from Klausen in the Tyrol, for Mantua.

Brought to a stand between the inaction of Germany and the increasing hostility of the Lombards, the Pope, at the entreaty of Matilda, who dared not quit Italy, thus menaced by present danger, turned back, and both with a view of keeping near the frontier, which he still hoped to cross, and to guard against surprise, he returned to the fortress of Canossa, the patrimony of the countess, in the bosom of the mountains of Rezzio. Built on a rock and encircled by a triple wall, Canossa was considered impregnable. A century before, Adelaide, the young and lovely widow of the last Lombard king, who had escaped by a subterranean passage from the tower of Garda, where she had been shut up by Berenger, had found at Canossa an inaccessible retreat, under the protection of the castellan Albert Azzo, one of Matilda's ancestors. It was there she awaited the arrival of Otho of Germany, and that an arrow shot over the besiegers' lines to the top of the tower brought her, it is said, the promise of her liberator's love. Hither it was that, at a later day, when empress, she always retired during the absences of her valiant

lord. Enlarged as a testimony of Otho's gratitude, the seigneurie of Canossa had become as independent as its fortress was supposed to be impregnable. There Beatrice had often found a rampart against German encroachment, there she had been united to Gottfried, the enemy of the Empire.

Gregory VII. could not have chosen a safer asylum, though at the very gates of an enemy's country. The garrison and the inhabitants obeyed the pontiff with that devoted affection of which the countess set the example, and which her presence inspired.

There Gregory VII., after some days of painful expectation, received a message informing him that the German confederates, uncertain of their forces and apprehensive of the disposition of Northern Italy, must defer their promise of coming to meet him. He stayed on still, but inactive and apparently undecided. He dreaded the junction of the king and the Lombards, so opposed to the Roman Church. He did not know all the extent of the troubles in Germany. He was not sufficiently confident either in Henry's weakness or in his own power. Influenced above all by the horror of bloodshed and the thought of the miseries Henry's war would inflict upon Italy, we are told he spent his days and nights in prayer and tears, entreating the Almighty to enlighten him from on high as to what he ought to do in such a serious pass, and what to reserve for the decision of a council.

These anxieties, however, in no wise lessened his rigour. Among the excommunicated prelates who, in order to reach Rome, had designedly taken a different

route to the king, two of those who were the most compromised, Dietrich, Bishop of Verdun, and Rupert, Bishop of Bamburg, had been taken at the posts of the princes hostile to the Empire, who had stripped them of everything and cast them into prison. But the rest, having at great risk escaped the bands that guarded the gorges of the Tyrol, managed to arrive at the Pope's retreat. They were Liemar, Archbishop of Bremen, one of the king's greatest confidants; the bishops of Zeitz, Lausanne, Strasburg, and Osnabruck; and among the laymen was the famous Ulric of Cosheim, once the champion in a duel for the prince touching the honour of his name; and that Count Eberhard who, three years before, had come to the Vatican, bringing with him the pretended confirmation of Gregory's election. Barefooted and clad in coarse woollen shirts, they hastened to the gate of Canossa, humbly entreating to be admitted to penitence; and when they were brought into the presence of the Pope, they knelt before him, begging him to make their peace with God. 'The mercy of God,' said Gregory to them, 'was never refused to such as acknowledged and repent of their sins, but a lengthened disobedience, like deep-eating rust, must be purged by the fire of a long penance. If then you be penitent, you must bear the hot iron that is to heal the wounds of your souls.' He then had the bishops confined, each in a cell apart, where towards evening they received a little bread and water. On the laymen he imposed similar severities—fastings, macerations, and wounds. After some days he sent for them, and having justly reprimanded them, he raised the excommunication, and dismissed them free, with repeated injunctions to give

no aid and to render no obedience to Henry, until he should have rendered satisfaction to the Church; and not even to approach him, except to exhort him to repentance.

Henry, meantime, after having traversed a great part of Piedmont and Lombardy, amid the suffrages of the schismatic clergy and the acclamation of the people, seemed to lose courage as he drew near to the stronghold of his enemy or his judge. Though he was surrounded by an army of Italians—though the very bishops counselled instant war, or at least that his approaching interview with the Pope should be but a temporary expedient for securing future vengeance—he listened with preference to those who preached unconditional submission. Such was the advice he received by messages from Hugh of Cluny, and which was seconded by his mother-in-law Adelaide in person. And then he was swayed, above all, by the consideration of the imminent decision of the German Diet and of the importance of depriving his enemies of the pretext of right they set up against him in virtue of the pontifical anathema, hoping to conquer them yet, when he should have their arms only to oppose.

In this disposition of mind, whether he had never had the intention of making an attack on the strong and well guarded fortress of Canossa, or whether he renounced such a project, leaving behind him his camp, full of zealous Italians, he went forward, disarmed and peaceful, towards the formidable refuge of the pontiff. Having sent on messengers, he halted at some distance from the castle, and then asked Adelaide to grant him an interview, to which she consented. There were

present Adelaide, Henry's mother-in-law; the young Count Amadeus; the Margrave Albert Azzo, Matilda's uncle; some other Italian seigneurs, who were supposed to have credit with the Pope, and Hugh of Cluny, the most important and impartial of all. Some of these mediators, in their zeal for the Pope, were filled with disgust of Henry, and fancied there was treason hidden under all his words. He, however, obtained a promise from Matilda and the principal seigneurs, that they would go and beg the Pope to absolve him, and not lightly to believe the accusations of the German princes, which, he said, were inspired rather by envy than by zeal for righteousness. The anniversary of his anathema, he added, was approaching, and his enemies were waiting for that date to declare him unworthy of the throne, without waiting for any other judgment. What he now sought was to be relieved of this anathema, ready thereafter to reply to the accusations of his enemies, and to keep or to lose the title of king, according to the sentence of the Pope.

Gregory appeared inflexible, and to every entreaty he replied, 'Well, if he be touched by pure repentance, let him place in our hands his crown and the other insignia of royalty, and declare himself henceforward unworthy of the throne.' But all expostulated against this excess of severity, and earnestly urged the Pope to ameliorate his sentence, and not to break the reed that was bowed down by the storm. The Pope at last consented to admit Henry to penance.

The king, who was in despair at these delays, fearing to be absolved too late, and without waiting for the pontiff's final answer, had advanced, clad in mourning

and accompanied by the excommunicated persons of his suite, under the walls of Canossa, and humbly knocking at the gate of the citadel he begged permission to enter. Being admitted within the gate, he waited in the space between the first and second wall, standing barefooted on the snow, and fasting till evening, in the rigorous cold of that month of January. He returned the two following days to the same place, and performed the same penance, and waiting for the favour of the apostolic pardon, he stood there weeping. Weary at last of this severe test, he was going away; but first he entered the chapel of Saint Nicholas hard by, and with tears in his eyes entreated the Abbot Hugh for the last time to be his surety. 'It may not be,' replied the abbot. Matilda, who was present at this interview, was touched by the humiliation of a prince, her relation, and joined her entreaties with his. But Hugh answered, 'You alone, countess, can undertake this mission.' The king then, bending his knee before her, said, 'If you will not come to my help I shall no more raise my hand in fight, for the Pope has stricken me, and my arm is dead. Go, my cousin, prevail on him to bless me. Go!' Matilda, rising, pledged her word to the king, and ascended into the castle to seek the pontiff. She entreated him to put an end to the king's severe penance. The Italian seigneurs who were present were moved with pity, and notwithstanding their pious admiration of the Pope, they remonstrated loudly against his continued severity. At length, after much discussion and many prayers, he appeared to yield, and said that if Henry came, resolved to confirm by oath and by the pledges which should be named him, all the

clauses involving obedience and satisfaction, which the Roman Pontiff might impose on him for the good and support of the Church; that if, further, he should promise to receive this oath before the sureties now present, and the empress, who was as yet absent, he would admit him into the Christian communion. For the rest, that as he should judge the king in the diet, he ordered that until that final sentence should be pronounced, Henry should keep no state, no marks of dignity, that he should take no part in public affairs, and that beyond the levying of the royal taxes necessary for the subsistence of himself and his own family, he should exercise no acts of regal power. He further exacted that those who had formerly taken the oaths of homage and fealty to the king should remain disengaged from such oaths, and the prince should still keep at a distance from his person, Rupert, Bishop of Bamberg, Ulric of Cosheim, and the rest with whom he had been forbidden to hold communication; and as a final condition, that if the king should fail in either of his promises, the absolution that was now sought with such eagerness would become null and void, that he should be held condemned by his own assent, be admitted to no audience for his exculpation, and that the princes, free from all impediment, should elect another king.

Henry deemed these conditions of pardon most rigorous; but as his acceptance of them was the only possible means of obtaining truce with the Church, he sadly consented. It would appear, however, that the Pope gave up some points, or at least they were not stipulated in the oath imposed on the king, which ran

as follows: 'I, Henry, the king, in regard to the dissent existing among the archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, and other princes of the Teutonic kingdom, and of all those who have joined their party, will, before the time fixed by the Lord Pope, execute justice according to his sentence, or come to an accommodation according to his advice, unless some obstacle should present itself; and such obstacle being removed, I shall be ready to fulfil my promise. Further, if the Lord Pope Gregory should determine to go beyond the mountains into Germany or other countries, he shall be, on my part and on the part of all I am able to command, secure from danger of death, mutilation, or captivity, as shall also those who may escort and accompany him either during his journey, his sojourn, or his return; and he shall not, by my consent, experience any annoyance or constraint; and should any impose these on him, I will come to his aid with all my power.'

Henry was even dispensed from taking this oath in person, but that was less out of consideration for him than as an insult to his plighted word; the sureties selected by the Pope promised for him. The Abbot of Cluny, alleging that the rule of his monastery did not allow him to take an oath, pledged himself in the sight of God, who sees all things. The Bishop of Zeitz, the Bishop of Verceil, chancellor of the kingdom of Italy, the Marquis Azo, and all the rest of Henry's mediators, swore on the relics of the Saints that Henry should fulfil his promises, and that no event, no necessity, should change his resolution.

These preliminaries being duly sealed, the Pope allowed the king to come into his presence, on the

morning of January 25, the fourth day of his penance. He entered with the soles of his feet bare and well-nigh frozen, in company with the rest of the excommunicated, who wept as he did, and, casting himself at full length on the ground, with his arms outspread, he exclaimed, 'Pardon me, blessed father, pardon me!' We are told that at the sight of this humiliation Gregory VII. himself shed tears abundantly—either because as a man he could not repress a sentiment of pity for so great a change of fortune, or that as a priest, whose ardent convictions mingled with his passions, he was touched by the return to the fold of these lost souls, who he believed were saved by the pardon they had obtained from him.

The ceremonial of absolution, according to the ancient rite of the Roman breviary, remained to be completed. The Pope, vested in violet, and wearing his mitre, took his seat at the principal entrance to the church of Canossa. Henry, naked to the waist, advanced towards him, followed by five bishops and many of his knights and seigneurs, all under excommunication, all stripped like himself; kneeling down, he said: 'Most Holy Father, I pray your Holiness, before God, to loose me from the bond of anathema, and to admit me to Christian communion;' and he then swore, by his own soul, to be thenceforward faithful to the holy commandments of the Church.

The Pope then, having received a switch from the hand of a deacon, recited the psalm, *Miserere mei, Domine, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*, and the psalm, *Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis*; and at the end of each verse he slightly struck the kneeling

penitent across the shoulders. Then, taking off his mitre, he arose, and looking up to heaven, he continued: 'Lord, have mercy upon us; Christ, have mercy upon us.' And then, interceding for the excommunicated prince, and those that were with him, he said: 'O God, save thy servant, hear our prayers, and let our cry come before thee. We entreat thee, O God of mercy and forgiveness, listen to our words, and let this thy unhappy servant, bound in the chains of excommunication, by thy pity be absolved, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

Then the pontiff, as though he knew his prayer was granted, sat down, and, resuming his mitre, said: 'By the authority of Almighty God and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, I loose thee from the bond of anathema.' He then arose, and, stretching out his arms to the kneeling monarch, he took his hand and led him across the threshold of the church, as he pronounced these solemn words: 'I lead thee back into the bosom of Holy Mother Church and the Christian communion, from whence thou wert banished and cut off by the sentence of excommunication; and I restore thee to a participation in the sacraments, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' He then gave the kiss of peace to the king and also to the bishops of Strasburg, Bremen, Lausanne, Bâle, and Neustadt; and then ascended to the altar and sang high mass.

At the moment of the communion, having called Henry up to the altar, he, holding in his hands the consecrated Host, addressed him in these words: 'I, long ago, received from thee and thy partisans letters,

wherein thou didst accuse me of having usurped the Apostolic chair by simony, and of having, before and after my episcopate, stained my life by crimes that, according to the decrees of the Church, would have excluded me from the priesthood. Though I can refute these calumnies by the affirmations of many credible witnesses, that is to say, by those who are acquainted with my whole life from my childhood, and who were the authors of my promotion to the episcopate, still, that I may not appear to rest on the witness of men rather than God, and to remove at once all pretext for scandal, behold here the body of the Lord, which I am about to take; let it become the final proof of my innocence, that thereby Almighty God may clear me this day of the crimes of which I have been accused if I am innocent, and may strike me with sudden death if I am guilty.'

After having uttered these words and others, by which he called upon God to be his judge and make manifest his innocence, he broke the Host and swallowed one half of it. At this spectacle the people uttered shouts of joy, both to praise the justice of God and to congratulate the pontiff on this signal testimony to his innocence.

After this interruption Gregory commanded silence, and, fixing his eyes on Henry, said: 'Now, then, my son, do, I pray thee, as thou hast seen me do. The nobles of the Teutonic kingdom daily weary me with their accusations; they impute to thee many capital crimes, on account of which they think thou shouldst be excluded, not only from the administration of public affairs, but also from the Christian communion and

from all dealings with men. They demand that a time and place may be fixed, and an audience assembled, to discuss canonically the charges made against thee. Now, thou well knowest the uncertainty of human judgments; that in public debates the false is often taken for the true; that, according to the talent of the speakers and the power of their orations, lies, set forth in wrong words, are listened to with pleasure, while truth, unsupported by the charm of eloquence, remains despised. As, then, I wish to render thee a service, seeing that in thy misfortunes thou hast sought the protection of the Holy See Apostolic, do as I counsel thee. If thou art conscious of thy innocence, if thou dost believe that thy reputation is falsely assailed by the lying reports of thy rivals, deliver promptly the Church of God from scandal, and thyself from the delays of a doubtful trial; take thou this portion of the body of Our Lord, so that thy innocence may have God to witness, that the mouth of thy enemies may be for ever closed, and that I, becoming the advocate of thy cause, and the most faithful defender of thy innocence, thy nobles may be reconciled to thee, thy kingdom restored to thee, and the tempest of civil war, that has long afflicted the state, be settled for ever.'

At these solemn words the king, who was nowise prepared for a test so terrible in those days, hesitated, became embarrassed, and asked leave to deliberate for a moment privately with his counsellors. The pontiff had, no doubt, foreseen what would be the effect of such an unexpected proposition on a prince whose passions and vices in no way diminished the terrors of religion. Henry, having recovered his self-possession,

pleaded the excuse of the absence of those nobles who had remained faithful to him in his misfortune, saying that, out of their sight, and without being supported by their testimony, whatever proof he might give of his innocence would be vain for his enemies, and would only be received with incredulity. He therefore earnestly prayed the Pope to refer all questions to a council general and a great assembly, that so all his accusers, being brought together, and their evidence and accusations submitted to investigation, he would put away the reproaches of his enemies in the way the nobles of the kingdom should decide as equitable.

Gregory VII. did not insist, satisfied with having stricken this last blow, and, as it were, excommunicated the prince in the very midst of his absolution. He quickly concluded the holy ceremony. The followers and partisans of the Pope were delighted that he should, by proposing such a test, have detected, most likely, some concealed perfidy of Henry. The king, not daring to lift up his eyes to the altar, seemed more cast down than when he lay prostrate, asking pardon, at the feet of the pontiff.

However, after mass, the Pope and he sat at the same table, and partook of a frugal meal together. They afterwards stood up to say grace, and repeated to each other many vain words in regard to the promised obedience given, the resolution to keep to the oath, and to guard against the impiety of the Lombards. The king then received the adieux and the benediction of the Pope, and withdrew, followed by his people, with the exception of some bishops whom Gregory VII. retained.

He desired to exact from them the special oath which he always demanded from the king's familiars. The bishops, appealing to the privileges of their order, disputed obstinately as to the terms of the formula proposed, in the fear of opening the way to a charge of perjury at a later day, and tried by all means to avoid pledging themselves by oath. One of them, the Bishop of Augsburg, fled secretly in the night, and rejoined Henry IV., who, burning for revenge, was projecting the entrapping of the pontiff into a treacherous interview.

But for that matter, the Pope was not more sincere in his reconciliation than the king. At the very moment when he was inflicting humiliations on Henry, and when he ended his penance, the Saxon envoys, who were then at Canossa, expressed to him their regret at this reconciliation, and their fear that the king would return, more powerful and more implacable than ever, to their unhappy country. The Pope replied, 'Do not be under any apprehension; I send him back more accusable than he was!'—a profound and terrible saying, that we would willingly rase from the life of a great man.

The truth of it was soon seen. Gregory VII. had, in fact, only accepted the penitence and humiliation of Henry with the intention of proclaiming them aloud, and of displaying to assembled Germany the spectacle which the emperor had sought to hide within the walls of Canossa. He made all haste to write to Germany a letter too remarkable not to be quoted at length. In the clearly turned and vehement expressions, in the diplomatic theology of his composition, we see that the Pope had relaxed nothing of his rigour, that he did not

intend that any should be misled by the pardon accorded, and that he degraded Henry in order that others might complete his overthrow:

'Gregory,[1] bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, and nobles of the Teutonic kingdom who defend the Christian faith, health and benediction apostolic.

'As you have made common cause with us in this Christian warfare, we are careful, with sincere charity, to announce to your affection in what manner the king, having humbled himself by penance, has obtained the grace of absolution, and how this matter was conducted, from the time of his entrance into Italy until this present.

'As it had been arranged with your envoys, we ourselves went into Lombardy some twenty days previous to the date fixed for one of your chiefs meeting us at the entrance into the mountains, and we awaited them in order to pass over into your country. But as, when the term was expired, we received word that on account of many difficulties (as we can easily believe) it was not possible to send an escort to meet us, and as we had no other means of reaching you in safety, we found ourselves in no ordinary embarrassments as to what course to take.

'Meantime, we heard of a certainty that the king was approaching. Before even entering Italy, he had sent to us a suppliant embassy, and had offered to make all satisfaction to God, to Saint Peter, and to us, and promised to be obedient in all things, and to reform his

[1] *Greg. Pap. Epist.* lib. iv. ep. 12.

life, provided he should, on those conditions,[1] obtain from us the apostolic pardon and benediction.

'After we had long consulted and deferred, reproving him sharply for his excesses by our messengers, he at last, himself, without affecting anything hostile or threatening, came with but few persons to the town of Canossa, where we were.[2] There, at our gates, during three days, having laid aside his kingly apparel, and with only a woollen shirt and barefoot, he stood, imploring with tears the aid and consolation of the apostolic mercy, so that he moved to compassion all who beheld him, so much so that all those who came to intercede for him with prayers and weeping were astonished at our unaccustomed rigour, and exclaimed that we shewed forth not the severity of the apostle, but the savage cruelty of the tyrant.[3]

'Vanquished at length by the fervour of his compunction, and the earnest prayers of those about us, we having loosed him from the bonds of anathema, have admitted him to the benefit of communion and into the bosom of our holy mother the Church, having received from him the sureties you will find transcribed below, and which have been further confirmed to us by the hand of the Abbot of Cluny, and our daughters Matilda and the Countess Adelaïde, as well as the other

[1] Dummodo apud nos absolutionis et apostolicæ benedictionis gratiam impetrare mereatur.—*Greg. Pap. Epist.* lib. iv. ep. 4.

[2] Ibique per triduum ante portam deposito omni regio cultu miserabiliter, utpotè discalceatus et laneis indutus, persistens, non priùs cum multo fletu apostolicæ miserationis auxilium et consolationem implorare destitit, quam omnes qui ibi aderant, et ad quos rumor ille pervenit, ad tantam pietatem et compassionis misericordiam movit.—*Greg. Pap. Epist.* lib. iv. ep. 12.

[3] Nonnulli vero in nobis non apostolicæ severitatis gravitatem, sed quasi tyrannicæ crudelitatem esse clamarent.—*Ibid.*

princes, bishops, and laymen, whose signatures have seemed to us useful to this end.

'The matter being thus arranged, we, in order to dispose all things with the help of God for the peace of the Church and the union of the kingdom, have long wished and now intend to pass over into your country the first opportunity, for we would have your affection to know, as is plain from these written promises, that the whole affair is still in suspense, so that our journey to you and your unanimous counsels appear absolutely necessary to conclude it. So then be ye careful to go on as ye have begun, in the faith and the love of justice, knowing well that we have done nothing for the king except to tell him to hope in us in regard to those things in which we could aid him in his salvation or his honour, whether in the interest of justice or of mercy, without risk to our soul or to his.'[1]

We see by the concluding expressions of this letter, and especially by the somewhat diplomatic wording of the last phrase, that the pontiff, as he had so announced in the church of Canossa, had in nothing renounced his right to settle the question of Henry's sovereignty; that he desired Germany should know this, and not accept the absolution of the king as the end of the war that had been stirred up against him.

With this letter the Pope sent to the seigneurs and bishops of Germany the copy of Henry's oath, which he held as the ground of the accusation which was about to

[1] Scientes nos non aliter regi oblatos esse, nisi quasi puro sermone (sicut mihi mos est) in his eum de nobis sperare dixerimus, in quibus eum ad salutem et honorem suum, aut cum justitiâ cum misericordiâ, sine nostræ et illius animæ periculo adjuvare possimus.—*Greg. Pap. Epist.* lib. iv. ep. 12.

be brought before them. In a word, as a contemporary apologist of Henry's remarks, the Pope, by prohibiting him from resuming the crown and the purple, had left him no alternative but to exhibit himself weak and degraded in his own kingdom if he obeyed, or by the infraction of this insulting prohibition, placing himself again under the burden of the excommunication which had just been annulled.[1]

But while the prejudices and opposition which the king's faults had raised up against him gathered strength in Germany, very opposite sentiments burst forth in Upper Italy, under the very eye of the pontiff, and in contempt of his power. The moment he had parted from the king whom he had just absolved, Gregory sent from Canossa to Milan a bishop of his own party, to remove the excommunication from all those who might have incurred it by any commerce with the king while he was under the anathema that had that day been revoked. This haughty condescension, this assumption of pardoning, exasperated the already discontented Lombards, and all those who out of the love of change, schismatic zeal, hope, or fear, had gathered round the king; the very annoyance they felt at his humiliating conduct, only increased their impatience of the proffer of this sort of amnesty, which they had never asked for.

The legate had no sooner explained the object of his mission than a perfect storm arose. He was interrupted by the hootings and the menaces of his hearers; he

[1] Ut sic aut contemptibilior esset ipsius regis in regio personna, aut si non permissus a se regalia resumeret ornamenta, certiorem haberet exerendæ circa eum causam excommunicationis.—*Walt. apud Struv.* p. 250.

was told in a torrent of abuse that they did not care for the excommunication of his Pope, who was himself excommunicated; that he had got possession of the chair of Saint Peter by simony; that he was a murderer and adulterer; that the king had acted in a manner little becoming his dignity, and stained his honour for ever by subjecting the royal authority to a heretic stained with countless crimes; that it was a shame for the king they had chosen to vindicate the rights of the Church, to betray by this disgraceful submission, the Catholic faith, the Church and the State; that in his defence they had done all in their power in opposition to the Pope, and that now he left them to face the danger, thinking of himself alone, and out of purely personal motives reconciling himself with the public enemy.[1]

Thédald and Guibert, the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna, Denis, Bishop of Placenza, the great seigneurs of Lombardy—in a word, all those who had shown themselves most eager in the king's cause were the most indignant and the most active in spreading their indignation among the people.

In the first excitement it was said in the public streets of the Lombard cities, that the king must be deposed as unworthy of the crown,[2] his son Conrad, child as he was, proclaimed in his stead, and that with him at

[1] Fremere omnes, et sævire verbis ac manibus cœperunt, apostolicæ legationis irrisoriis exclamationibus obstrepere. . . . Se excommunicationem illius nihili æstimare . . . . qui sedem apostolicam per simoniacam hæresim occupasset, homicidiis cruentasset, adulteriis aliisque capitalibus criminibus polluisset.—*Lamb Schaf.* p. 251.

[2] Una voluntas omnium, una sententia erat ut abdicato patre et filium ejus licet impuberum adhuc, et regni negotiis immaturum, regem sibi facerent, et cum eo Romam profecti papam alium eligerent per quem et ipse protinus imperator consecraretur. . . .—*Lamb Schaf.* p. 251.

their head, they would go to Rome to elect immediately another Pope, who should crown the young prince emperor, and abrogate all the acts of the apostate Gregory. The interest which the Lombard seigneurs had in the sale of benefices, and the great number of married priests, easily explains this rising, for it was occasioned less by the indignation felt against Henry than by the dread of the impending yoke of Gregory VII.

The king, who was returning well mortified from Canossa, found the above state of things everywhere on his journey, and by the time he reached Parma, he was convinced he had lost more than he had hoped to gain by the sacrifice he had made. He sent his most faithful seigneurs hither and thither to calm the people's minds; he sent messages to his friends, begging them 'not to take as an offence what he had been forced to do by necessity; that in order to satisfy the German princes who were plotting to deprive him of his throne by their calumnies, and to disarm the Pope who distracted the state by his fulminations,[1] the only course open to him was to obtain at any sacrifice absolution before the day named; that now, freed from the shackles by which his enemies had followed him, he could dispose of all his forces to revenge his own injuries and those of his partisans.'

This appeal did not at once avert the general distrust and censure. Many of the Italian seigneurs quitted the king's camp and returned to their castles without his leave. Those who remained did not show him the same

[1] . . . . . Ivit Urbem Reginam, quâ stabat turba maligna Pontificum.
—*Dom. ap. Murat.* vol. v. p. 366.

deference as heretofore, nor did they furnish advances with the same liberality. Downcast and discontented, they gave vent to reproaches against him, charging him with the levity and imprudence of his late conduct, and lamenting that the king, for whom they had so long waited, and whose arrival they had so ardently desired, should have failed for want of courage to bring with him any remedy for the sufferings of Italy.[1]

Alarmed by this falling off, and goaded on by the counsels of Guibert, Henry's only thought was by force or fraud to obtain some advantage over the Pope. In the first place, he sent him a message asking him to authorise his coronation in Monza by the bishops of Milan and Parma, or some other bishops if he objected to those, as being under excommunication. In that spirit of subtile distinction which was mingled with the barbarism of the age, he relied upon the idea that questions of kingship reserved by the Pope referred to Germany alone, and could not affect Italy; and upon this ground he was determined to obtain either a new recognition of his right, or a new pretext for rupture and revenge. The Pope, who professed to have temporarily suspended him from the exercise of all regal functions, and who was offended at the recent captivity of his legates, replied by a refusal and an accusation that he had kept Saint Peter in prison.

The king then, having returned to Bibianello,[2] at

[1] Plerique ex principibus castris se per iram subtrahentes injussi in sua rediere.—*Lamb Schaf.* p. 251.

Neque tam sumptuosa ut prius servitia ei exhibitant, sed adversis oculis, infestisque mentibus, passim per angulos omnes de levitate ejus et ineptiâ necessitabant.—*Ibid.*

[2] Rexique die sexto remeavit Bibianellum.—*Doniz. apud Murat.* vol. v. ; 166.

a short distance from Canossa, made every effort to induce the Pope to come out of his retreat and to obtain a new interview with him.

Gregory, in fact, did leave Canossa and crossed the Po,[1] to repair to the rendezvous, whither he was followed by Matilda. The conference was brief and troubled. That vigilant guardian of the Pope, Matilda the *hundred-eyed*, as her chaplain called her, suspecting some foul play on the king's part, put an end to the discussion, and summoning her men-at-arms, suddenly withdrew with the Pope to the fort of Bibianello, on the neighbouring heights.[2] Whether this alarm were real or feigned, Henry returned in wrath; it was the last time he saw either Gregory or Matilda.

Meantime he still experienced from the Lombard clergy and the people, the effects of the disfavour with which they regarded his reconciliation with the Pope. On his progress through Lombardy to render justice to the oppressed, and to hold solemn Courts, he found the gates of the cities closed against him by day, and at night none of the inhabitants came out with torches to meet him. He was obliged to encamp either without the walls or in the faubourgs; but few provisions were furnished for his troops, only just enough to protect the contributors from the charge of having revolted against

[1] Pastor pelle carens ad eum descendit ab arce.
. . . . Mox est comitissa secuta.
—*Doniz. apud Murat.* vol. v. p. 166.

[2] Eridanum præsul, Mathildis et optima secum
Transivit.—*Ibid.*
Regis Henrici qui papam tradere dicit
Hoc ubi cognovit prudens hera, mox cito movit
Seque suos fortes petiit cum præsule montes.
Insidiæ fractæ regis sunt et patefactæ.—*Ibid.*

him; and a guard was set over the farms and hamlets to protect them from his marauders.

Finding Italy thus almost as rebellious as Germany, Henry saw clearly that war against the Pope, however dangerous, could alone restore him the affection of the Lombards. Without being crowned at Monza, he resumed the crown of gold and his royal splendour, summoned to his presence Liemar of Bremen, Benno of Osnabrück, Burchard of Lausanne, Ulric of Cosheim, the Counts Eberhard and Berthold—all those, in a word, whom the legates had banished from him at Oppenheim, and with whom the Pope had forbidden him to hold communication, even though they were absolved. He again had a court and counsellors. One enemy of Gregory VII. alone was excluded. This was Cinci, who, weary of leading the life of a brigand in the Roman Campagna, had come bringing with him the Bishop of Como, who had been carried off by his band, to present himself to the king at Pavia, and to ask the reward of his services. When Henry saw him in the crowd, he did not even salute him, and during many days he declined to receive him. Cinci, who haughtily complained of this ingratitude, saying he was shamefully treated, at last obtained the promise of an audience. But in the interval he was seized with such a violent inflammation of the throat that he died suddenly of suffocation; his death, which was compared to the strangulation of Judas, was regarded as a judgment from Heaven.

Henry, well pleased to be delivered from Cinci, showed none the less rancour and animosity against the Pope. He never named him before the Lombard

seigneurs but with abusive expressions, as the cause and instigator of all the evils in State and Church. This alteration of tone had its full effect on the changeful and passionate temperament of the Italians. The general distrust gave way, and zeal for the king took its place. Numbers flocked from all parts to his camp, where, once more, provisions abounded. Except Mantua, Reggio, and some few towns where Matilda ruled, all the gates of Lombardy were open to the king. He received gifts of gold and silver and precious stuffs, and in the month of March he went in great pomp to Verona to celebrate the feast of Easter, followed by a great company, and the good wishes of all the schismatics.[1]

During this prolonged agitation in Upper Italy, this revolution of opinion, this repentance of a king more grieved at his humiliation than at his sins, this war of surprises and ambuscades renewed by him, the affairs of Germany followed their course, and the catastrophe which the king sought to avert at Canossa, was approaching in his absence. The confederates, whom his sudden departure had disturbed, and who, on the report of his proceedings in Lombardy, had feared to penetrate beyond the Tyrol and to meet the Pope, were as desirous as ever to hold as speedily as possible the great diet they had announced.

The time and place of it were both settled; it was to meet at Forsheim in Bavaria at the end of the year. The convocation was addressed to all the seigneurs and

[1] Res partibus illis quæcumque et undecumque poterat, auri argenti et palliorum corradendo, et Veronæ diem palmarum, animosus plurimum celebravit.—*Barthold. Const. Chron.* p. 46.

prelates of the party, and attention was on the alert throughout all the provinces of Germany, from the shores of the Danube and the Lippe, to the trading cities on the Rhine. The great severity of the winter, general this year throughout Europe, retarded the meeting of the assembly some little time. But in the beginning of March it was already sufficiently numerous to sit in deliberation, and instead of the pontiff there arrived two legates from the Holy Father—Bernard, a cardinal of the Roman Church, and Bernard, Abbot of Saint-Victors, Marseilles, accompanied by another French priest, Christian Guimond, then celebrated by his refutation of the heresies of Berengarius.

By dispatching this mission, Gregory VII., to all appearance, intended to defer rather than to hasten the revolution in Germany; but the confederates convoked at Forsheim had different views, inspired by the sense of the danger they ran, in a struggle against a prince who was by turns implacable and yielding, changeable as to his plans, and whose means of avenging himself were many and various.

They sent, then, to him the Count Mangold Veringhem, a seigneur attached to Rudolph, to announce the holding of the new diet which was to take the place of that of Augsburg, and to desire his presence, without, at the same time, making any new arrangements to protect his journey.

The pontiff, no doubt, foresaw from this time the elevation of Rudolph, but he was in no haste to avow his conviction. Evidently he would have preferred that the event should be delayed, and preceded by a formal debate on the deposition of Henry. His first move, then,

was to send back the delegate of the diet, accompanied by one of his cardinals, Gregory, Bishop of Ostia, to the king, who was still in Italy, and to beg him to fulfil his promise by repairing to Forsheim to await the jurisdiction he had accepted at Augsburg. In this proposition, haughtily put, Gregory VII. seemed to wait only for a safe-conduct from the king to go himself into Germany and preside at that great diet to which he held the king amenable. But this very fact marked the change which had taken place in Henry's fortunes, and consequently in his policy. Finding obedience and zeal in Italy, when a portion of Germany was slipping from his grasp, Henry could set aside a promise that had been extracted by force, and whose fulfilment depended on his own consent, almost on his own act. He replied, then, to the envoys of the diet and the Pope 'that he could not thus soon leave his Italian subjects, who had been so long expecting him, and when he was occupied with many plans for their benefit; that the date fixed for the diet was too early, in fact, and that he would not give a safe-conduct for the Pope to be present at it.' The parts seemed changed, in truth, and the very request for protection showed Henry that he could still prevent the reunion of his enemies and hinder his own deposition by his refusal to grant it.

Deprived of such high sanction, the assembly of Forsheim was none the less a formidable one for Henry. Therein was asserted the ancient right of the Germanic lords to choose a chief, and in case of necessity to sit in judgment on him they had so chosen. Prelates and seigneurs made their decrees there, according to the

expression of a contemporary, like free men ; the Archbishop of Mayence held the first rank in virtue of his ecclesiastical supremacy, and with him were the bishops of Würsburg, Metz, of the Saxon cities, and many other dioceses. The candidate who had been so long looked to, the Duke Rudolph, was there accompanied by the Dukes Berthold and Wolf, and surrounded by a crowd of feudatory margraves and counts, who hailed in him their future king. The opposite party was silent, or rather was not represented at this assembly, whose decision was alike irresistible and called for by the precarious condition of the State and the absence of the king. However, when the Count Mangold, who hastened to return after Henry's refusal, had joined the first legates sent by the Pope, presented himself with them at Forsheim and handed to the assembly a pontifical letter, an adjournment was solicited. The legates, while they expatiated on the faithlessness of Henry's promises and his bad faith towards the Pope, his endeavours to cut him off both from Germany and from Rome, dwelt upon the steadfast desire of the pontiff, and on his hope of being, at a future day, free to take part in the acts of the assembly and in the election of a new king.

'Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God,

'To his brethren and most dear sons in Jesus Christ, the bishops, dukes, counts, and other princes, who with the people of Germany defend the Christian faith and religion, health and benediction apostolic.

'In our former letters and by the mouth of our legates, we, knowing that you had worthily shown yourselves the defenders of justice in truly obeying and respecting

the power apostolic, and so putting our confident hope in your counsels, announced to you, that in opposition to the wish of nearly all our faithful except the most faithful and dearly loved daughter of Saint Peter Matilda, we had undertaken a journey to you, not only through many difficulties, but many dangers. In truth, we should have arrived at the date appointed if we had found guides and an escort at the time and place agreed. But the delay of our departure having given the king, in his precipitate march into Italy, the opportunity of coming to us, we, touched by his humility and the many and divers tokens of his repentance, loosed him from the bond of anathema and received him to Christian communion. But we concluded nothing with him except such arrangements as providence and the care of your honour seemed to demand of us. The bishops of Lombardy having learned at the time, that the entire decision of the affair was reserved for an assembly general and the deliberations of your prudence, and seeing that they could not, for their sins, obtain absolution with the impunity they hoped for, rose up against us, with what pride and malice it is sad to tell and grievous to hear. Those, in a word, who ought to be the pillars of the Church of God, not only do not protect the assemblies of the members of Christ, but as far as in them lies, become their assailants and destroyers.

'As to the king, whether as regards his sincerity in what he promised us, or his fidelity in keeping his promises, we have no great satisfaction in him; his presence here only inspires the wicked with more

audacity towards ourself and the Apostolic See, than fear on account of their past evil deeds.

'However, while awaiting your counsels, we learned by our son Rabdodd, whom we had sent to you, that in order to secure the safety of our journey to your country you recommended us to obtain the co-operation and assistance of the king. We then, as we have informed you, desirous of fulfilling your wishes and intentions in all things according to the will of God, sought to regulate this point with the king by our nuncios; but as regards his inclination to carry out your desire and ours in this matter, we could not know it before the departure of this legation, because of the great distance the prince then was from us. But as soon as we shall know it, we will not fail to communicate it to you. Know, then, that our intention and desire is, either with the consent of the king or in spite of him, if possible to come unto you, for the public good and the welfare of you all. If, through the obstacles raised up by the sins and endeavours of the wicked, this should be impossible, I, though absent, will offer my constant prayers to Almighty God that He may strengthen your hearts and souls in virtue and grace, and that it may be given you to perceive and accomplish those things that are most worthy of you, and the most needful for the stability and glory of your kingdom.'

This letter, which points to the hope the pontiff still had of reaching Germany, and his desire not to precipitate Henry's deposition, was soon followed by another more pressing, which he addressed to his legates, who had already set out for Germany.

'Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God,

'To the blessed deacons of the Holy Roman Church, and the blessed Abbot of Marseilles, health and benediction apostolic.

'We doubt not that you, my brethren, are aware that, trusting in the mercy of God and blessed Peter, we set out from Rome in order to visit the German countries, and there regulate things for the honour of God and the good and peace of the Church; but through the failure of those who were to conduct us to the place appointed, and ourselves embarrassed by the arrival of the king in Italy, we have remained in Lombardy, in the midst of the enemies of the Christian religion, not without danger, and up to this time we have not been able to cross the mountains according to our desire. We consequently now write to you and on the part of blessed Peter prescribe unto you, to go by the authority of this order, and armed in our stead, with the authority of the prince of the apostles, and summon both kings, Henry and Rudolph, to open to us a way to join you in safety, and to secure an escort of persons honoured by your confidence, so that the road may be free for us under the protection of Jesus Christ.

'We desire, with the advice of the clergy and laity of this kingdom, which fears and loves God, to judge between the two kings, by the grace of God, and to decide which of the two is pointed out by justice to govern the State. You know, of a truth, that it is your duty, and that it pertains to the providential wisdom of the See Apostolic to try the governments of the great Christian kingdoms, and to regulate them according to the inspirations of heaven. The matter

in dispute between these two princes is of such importance, and the consequences that may result from it so dangerous, that if on any account it were neglected by us, it would entail not only on them and on ourself, but on the whole Church, great and grievous injury.

'So, then, if either the one or the other of the two kings refuse to comply with this our will and decision, and to conform himself to your counsels, and if, kindling the torch of pride and covetousness, his fury should, contrary to the honour of God, aspire to accomplish the desolation of the Roman empire, resist him by all ways, by all means, even, if need be, unto death, in our name and by the authority of blessed Peter; and, denying to him and his adherents the administration of the kingdom, deprive them of participation in the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and cast them out of the Church, remembering that those who refuse to obey the Holy See incur the sin of idolatry, and that the holy and humble doctor, Gregory, has declared deprived of their royalty such kings as should dare rashly to contend against the orders of the Apostolic See. As to the other king, who shall have deferred with humility to our commands and shown towards the Church, mother universal, the obedience which a Christian king owes to her, before the most numerous assembly of priests and laymen ye can call together, assist ye him with your counsel in all things, confirm him in our name in the royal dignity by the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul; and in the name of Almighty God command all bishops, abbots, clerics, and laics of the kingdom to yield him faithful obedience as due to a king.'

The impartial alternative laid down in this letter may surprise us. Did the Pope really fear any resistance on the part of Rudolph, and could he believe that he was really neuter between the two rivals? Be that as it may, the care he took still to leave to him whom he had stricken the name of king, and this manner of announcing to the electors of the diet that their work would be incomplete as long as it had not had his presence and his sanction, sufficiently explains the ruling motive of the pontiff and the secret of his apparent moderation. At the very time when he kept alive, by these instructions, the zeal of the legates, who were rather the witnesses than the approvers of the coronation at Forsheim, another pontifical letter, which was circulated through Germany, appeared to interest the people and the whole body of the faithful in the delay of the examinations and in the inquisitorial severity the pontiff affected in this revolution he had himself stirred up.

'Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God,

'To the archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts, and all the faithful in Christ of the Teutonic kingdom,

'Health and benediction apostolic.

'We would have you to know, very dear brethren, that we have instructed our legates Bernard, son and deacon of the Holy Roman Church, and Bernard, abbot of the monastery of Marseilles, to request both the kings, Henry and Rudolph, either themselves or by their messengers, to open to us the route, that we may reach you, by God's help, in safety, and hold the trial which for their sins is appointed.

'Our heart truly is overwhelmed with grief and

sadness, that for one man's pride, so many millions of Christians should be given over to temporal and spiritual death, the Christian religion overthrown, and the Roman empire brought to the verge of ruin. Both kings seek our help, or rather the help of the Apostolic See, which we fill, though unworthy; and we, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and the help of blessed Peter, are ready, by the help of your counsels—you who fear God and love the Christian Church—to scrutinise carefully the right on each side, and to succour him whom justice shall visibly call to the administration of the kingdom. Wherefore if either of them, being puffed up with pride, shall place any obstacle by any artifice in the way of our reaching you, and in his wickedness absent himself from the judgment of the Holy Spirit, and become by such disobedience rebellious to the Holy Universal Church, cast him out, as a member of Anti-Christ and a destroyer of the Christian religion, and carry out the sentence which the legates shall have pronounced against him. But the other, who shall have been humble, and shall accept the sentence of the Holy Spirit proclaimed by you—for we believe, without hesitation, that where two or three are gathered together in the name of the Lord, He is there in the midst of them—to that man, I say, show all obedience and respect, according as our legates shall command, and lend all your efforts, so that he may maintain the royal dignity with honour and lend his help to the tottering Church.'

And then the pontiff repeats, 'You cannot in fact forget that he who refuses obedience to the Apostolic

See is guilty of the sin of idolatry.' And, citing the threat of Saint Gregory in regard to the excommunication and deposition of corrupt kings, he adds, 'If the chair of blessed Peter looses heavenly and spiritual bonds, what power has it not over bodies terrestrial and secular?

'You know, dear brethren, that from the time of our departure from Rome we have lived in great peril, amid the enemies of the faith; and still, neither out of love or fear have we promised any assistance, beyond what is called for by justice, to either of the two kings. We would rather, in truth, suffer death than consent by our own act and deed to the confusion of the Church of God; for we know that we have been called to the apostolic chair to this end—namely, that we should seek in this life not our own interests, but the things of Christ—and to walk on through many labours, in the steps of the fathers, to eternal rest through the mercy of God.' [1]

[1] *Chronic. Virdunens.* p. 220.

BOOK VI.

1078.

MEANTIME the act of the German confederates which was to deprive Henry of the crown, was too much desired and had been too long in preparation not to be inevitable, and the absence of the king, by rendering the deposition less formal and less decisive, encouraged the declaration of it. The first letter, in which the Pope recounted so haughtily Henry's humiliations, and which was published all over Germany, had done away, as far as it was possible, with the very absolution it announced, and gave the diet to understand it might dare all things against the king. And then too the Saxon envoys who were present at Canossa had circulated the terrible interpretation the Pope gave to his pardon: 'I send him back to you more accusable than he was.'

It is true the Roman legates, the Cardinal Bernard, Bernard, Abbot of Marseilles, and the monk Christian Guimond, who had been sent from Canossa to Forsheim, advised the princes not to dispose of the throne before the arrival of the Pope; and when Henry's enemies declaimed before them against his crimes, appearing surprised that such a sacrilegious man should have been tolerated so long,[1] they affected to repeat pub-

[1] Legati autem sedis apostolicæ, audito illic tam sacrilego homine, non

licly that if by any adroit precaution of the diet he could somehow or other be kept some time longer in power, it would be well not to hasten to set up another king.[1]

This language was sincere in one respect. The legates, faithful to the Pope's wishes, desired Henry's dethronement, but they also desired that the elevation of his successor might be delayed long enough to appear as the gift of the Holy See; and this intention, which we meet with again in Gregory's letters, explains the moderate language and the reserve of his envoys. But men were carried away by a more rapid movement; all were anxious to find in a new king a defender against Henry, and, by ending the revolt, to escape its punishment. Rudolph, moreover, who was alone eligible on account of his power and renown, was weary of waiting; and all those who had fixed their hopes on him, or had reason to fear Henry, were eager to bring matters to a conclusion.

The assembly, in which the majority was formed of the vassals of Rudolph, was principally composed of Suabians and Saxons; but there were, too, bishops, seigneurs, and deputies from all the other provinces. The legates opened the first sitting by the reading of a new letter, in which the Pope, after having recapitulated the details of Henry's absolution, added,[2] 'that

parem quidem mirati sunt, quod tam diù illum super se sustinuerunt.—Berthold. *Const. Chron.* p. 48.

[1] Promulgabant suæ legationis commonitorium, ut si quolibet suæ cautionis artificio posset fieri, iste adhuc aliquandiu qualitercumque sustentato, alium sibi regem nequaquam constituerunt.—*Ibid.*

[2] Non multum de pœnitentiæ illius spe et profectu lætandum suis subditis, quandoquidem Longobardos, quos inobedientes satis invenerat, inobedientissimos et ex malis pessimos reddiderit, ... Domino Deo se unice commendantes in sua et amore justiciæ in dies semper attentiores et provectiores cucurrerint.—*Ibid.*

the people subject to his dominion would have little reason to rejoice in the fruits of his repentance; that having found the Lombards untractable towards the Church, he had made them totally rebellious and worse sinners than they were before; that, consequently, all those who were formerly placed under his sceptre were warned by the vigilance apostolic to put their trust in God only, and to go forward daily more zealous in the way of justice, so as to merit by their perseverance the heavenly crown.'

These words were easily understood, and the vigour they infused into Henry's enemies could not be restrained by the premeditated delays of the legates.

A new witness moreover, against Henry had arrived at Forsheim, and announced that the presence of the Pope was no longer to be hoped for; that the king, in defiance of his oath, refused him a passage. It was the ambassador the confederates had sent from Ulm to Canossa, the Count Mangold, one of an illustrious house, a pious warrior, and brother of the Abbot of Reichnaw, Hermann Contract, whose curious chronicle we have.

Mangold had been present when the Pope gave his instruction to his legate, Cardinal Gregory, the last time he sent him to Henry. He said that while the Pope was speaking and asking a sign from God of His will, he had seen three fingers of the pontiff's dexter hand become stained with blood, which could not at first be removed.[1] When, soon after, he accompanied

[1] Inter hæc verba papæ tres digiti ejus dextræ usque ad medium repente sanguinei apparuere . . . . erant ibi præsentes comes Mangoldus et venerabilis presbyter Erkinbertus.

the cardinal to Henry's camp, he, seeing Henry's determination to continue a wicked war, understood the meaning of this presage; and while the legate was returning to Canossa, he had hastened to the diet. After the official discourses of the legates, and the accusing testimony of the Count Mangold had been heard, the prelates, dukes, marquises, and the counts of the first and second order rose in their turns, and, lamenting Henry's crimes, charged him more especially with having often betrayed them with the kiss of peace. They all, moreover, considered him dethroned from the time of the suspension pronounced by the diet of Oppenheim; all of them said that the Pope having forbidden them to render obedience to him, he was necessarily deprived of the dignity of king, and could not retain a title of which his many misdeeds rendered him unworthy. The whole day was spent in these speeches and accusations; no one defended Henry, but the legates seemed still to defer their decision.

The following day the principal members of the diet repaired to the inn where the legates were, and consulted them anew, representing that a dangerous and irremediable schism would burst out in all the kingdom if they did not, in the same assembly in which the king was dethroned, gather round another head and hasten to crown it. The legates, faithful to their original mission, but seeing the eagerness of the diet, confined themselves to saying that, in their opinion, the better way would be, if they could do so without danger, to defer the election of the new king till the arrival of the lord Pope; but that the decision of that

point must depend less on their advice than on the opinion of the princes who were at the head of affairs, and who were the best judges of the necessities, the welfare, and the sufferings of the kingdom.

On receiving this answer, the members of the diet, lay and ecclesiastical, met again under the presidency of the Archbishop of Mayence. They said in this meeting that no delay had been accorded by the Pope; that the Holy Father left the time of pronouncing judgment to the free choice of the diet; that therefore the sin would be theirs, if the adjournment were followed by fatal consequences. It was further alleged, that thenceforth the members of the diet were under no obedience to Henry as king; that, on the contrary, it would be sinful to obey him in that quality; that the Pope, in fact, before pronouncing the anathema, had prohibited him from governing the kingdom, and had loosed his Christian subjects from all oaths, past or future; that he had since, by false professions of repentance, been admitted to Christian communion, but that he still remained suspended from the exercise of all royal functions.

In conformity with these arguments, developed in the diet without contradiction, Henry was unanimously deposed by the three orders which formed this assembly, and who voted separately, first, the declaration that they no longer acknowledged Henry's royalty and were held to him by no allegiance; secondly, the resolution to proceed as one man to the choice of another king of Germany.

The lay seigneurs were the first to pronounce for the election of the chief among them, Rudolph, Duke

of Suabia, the brother-in-law and most formidable adversary of Henry; the chamber of deputies followed this example; and finally, the ecclesiastical order, with the president of the diet, the Archbishop of Mayence at their head, proclaimed Rudolph.

The apostolic legates present at Forsheim confirmed this choice with an eagerness that was afterwards blamed by Gregory VII.

Rudolph, who, by the censures he had for many years cast on the young king, his relative, by his alliance with the malcontents of Germany, by his affected zeal for the Church and his deference to Rome, manifestly aspired to the crown, feigned to refuse it, and asked for some time to reflect. Not a moment was granted to him, though the lay seigneurs would no doubt have been willing enough to accord a respite that would have allowed them to impose more conditions on the new king. But the legates stepped in to the aid of the newly-elected monarch, against any interested considerations that may have rendered his elevation to the throne less prompt and less unanimous. They declared, by way of opposition to any special arrangements, that a prince, being elected, was the king not of individuals but of the nation; and that being so, it sufficed for him to promise justice to the nation at large.

Their further remarks on this occasion seem to have been decisive, for they were based on the very fall of Henry. They did not fail to add that, if the new king were chosen by any compromise, or in consideration of any previous or personal engagements, his election itself would be open to question, for that it would be tainted with the heresy of simony.

There was no resisting an argument which had just been confirmed by the dethronement of the last king. Rudolph was only called on to make some general promises, the first of which was not to dispose of any bishoprics, abbacies, or benefices, for money or by favour, but to leave all ecclesiastical dignities the free gift of the churches, according to the canons. Another condition imposed on Rudolph by the votes of the diet and in the name of the Roman pontiff was, that for the future the royal authority should not be hereditary, that even the son of the king, however worthy he might be of the throne, must be chosen by free election, and that if he were unworthy of it, the people would not have him for their king; they should choose whom they would. On these conditions, haughtily enunciated, Rudolph accepted the crown on March 15, 1078.

Thirteen days afterwards, the diet having repaired with great pomp to Mayence, the Archbishop Siegfried solemnly crowned Rudolph in the cathedral with the assistance of the Bishop of Magdeburg and in the presence of the Roman legates.

However lost appeared Henry's cause, his rival's coronation was stained with blood by disturbances of evil augury for the new reign. During the ceremony of the royal anointing, and at the request of Rudolph, who showed himself zealous for the reforms ordered by Gregory VII., the Archbishop Siegfried had sent away from the altar a deacon who was charged with simony. Such rigour, on such an occasion, excited the dissatisfaction of many of the priests of the city, who were open to a similar suspicion, or who were in dread of the punishment attached to the open infraction of celibacy.

While a portion of the clergy of Mayence were thus apprehensive and discontented, another grievance aroused the citizens, more friendly to Henry's cause by reason of his repeated residence among them, than annoyed by his extortions and his wars.

On the day of the coronation, after the banquet, some young Saxon nobles of the new king's suite, came unarmed to the great *place* of the town to conclude the fête by races and knightly games. While the crowd was looking on, some fur that was attached to the mantle of one of the young courtiers, was cut off in mockery by a young townsman, who ran off with his booty. The thief was soon caught, and was roughly treated by the young seigneur, who took possession of his property, and led off the offender to prison in face of the people, who made a riot and delivered him.

The town was up. Heated by wine, and doubtless also by the instigation of some of Henry's friends, the burgesses assembled in tumultuous groups and abused and struck Rudolph's soldiers, who, in the presumed security of a fête day, had for the most part left their arms at the inns at which the new king had quartered them, in order that they might cause no inconvenience to the inhabitants. Some of these arms having fallen into the hands of the citizens, were turned against the royal troops, while the tocsin was sounded by the priests, who dreaded the censures of Rome.

Thus excited, the mob rushed to the fortified palace occupied by Rudolph, and to the cathedral, where he was devoutly hearing vespers. Blood was spilt even in the very church. The knights who had remained with the prince, and such of the soldiers as could get at their

arms and reach the spot, succeeded in repulsing the crowd. Exasperated in their turn, they made many victims; some being slain at the palace gates, others hunted through the streets and cast into the river.

The victory then remained to the new king, and the next day the principal burgesses of the city came to the palace to ask pardon for their fellow citizens. Rudolph, who had been vexed at this catastrophe, and who was not less uneasy on account of its blood-stained repression by his troops than at the revolt itself, received a hasty and doubtful oath of allegiance, and soon quitted the city, from which his enemies announced he had been driven by a rising of the people. But the king had another motive for his departure; it was the ancient custom for every new monarch to visit the principal towns of Germany on his accession, and to be acknowledged in each. The dissension of opinions and the number of partisans who still adhered to the former king, made this a difficult undertaking. In Hesse, the city of Worms, on the banks of the Rhine, which was already a rich trading place, remembering that Henry had, some years since, exempted its traders from all tonnage due to the Crown, shut its gates against the new king, when he presented himself before them to make his entry in company with their own bishop.

Resolved not to risk a similar repulse elsewhere, Rudolph withdrew to the part of the kingdom where he was sure of absolute obedience, and came to Eslingen, in Suabia, to hold his Court. Then, after having gone to Ulm, in another part of Saxony, there to celebrate the feast of Palms, he went to keep that of

Easter in that city of Augsburg, in Bavaria, where the fallen king had a year ago been cited to appear. From this hot-bed of rebellion against Henry, Rudolph despatched to Rome one of the apostolic legates, the Abbot Bernard, to claim from the pontiff that assistance which the obstacles raised in the new king's path rendered daily more necessary. It is, in fact, evident, that in spite of the faults with which Henry was justly reproached, and in spite of the anathema of the Church, the fallen king still possessed many friends in Germany. Few of his partisans had deserted his cause to follow Rudolph, while many of Rudolph's vassals, jealous of his new title, were disposed to resist him, or at least delayed yielding him obedience. Even that rich and powerful seigneur, the Bishop of Augsburg, who had at first followed the movements of the diet, and sworn fealty to the new king, soon seemed to regret the absence of Henry, and to tolerate unwillingly the presence of his successor. He set the example of disobedience by refusing to salute him even in the church, and before the eyes of the faithful.

Rudolph, however, made no attempt to repress this formidable enmity, at the risk of increasing it by contending against it. True to his policy of acquiring the support of the Roman Church and of seconding it in all things, he went from Augsburg to Constance, to remove from that diocese the Bishop Otho, who had been nominated to it by Henry, and interdicted from his functions by Gregory VII. He put in his place Altmann, Bishop of Passaw, a zealous defender of the Pontiff of Rome, and he purged by numerous exclusions the clergy subjected to the authority of the new bishop. He then

went to Zurich to endeavour to accomplish a similar reform in that Church, which had long been suspected of laxity in discipline and morals. But there, as at Mayence, the dread of the priests thus menaced by the rigour of the pontifical decrees, was more inimical to Rudolph's authority than the approbation of the priests who were faithful to Rome was advantageous to it. Excited by a portion of the simonist and dissolute clergy, the inhabitants made a rising, that, as they said, they might not be subjected to the tyrannical ordinances of the Lord Pope.

This resistance was especially displayed at Saint Gall, where Rudolph, in concert no doubt with the legates of Rome, had placed at the head of the monastery a monk noted for his fervour. The brethren revolted, broke in pieces the abbot's crosier in the very choir, and compelled the new abbot to fly for his life. Thus Rudolph, though favoured by Henry's absence and by the concurrence of Rome, with no competitor to face and no army to fight, ere long found danger in that very zeal wherein his strength lay. His accession meant not only the war of the Church against the State, the clergy against the laity—there was dissension in the ecclesiastical order itself; and one-half of the diocesans and monks dreaded a reign which, while it promised power to the priesthood, imposed as a condition the reforms with which it had been threatened by Gregory VII.

Meantime, the absence of Henry and his prolonged stay beyond the Alps, gave rise to many fabulous conjectures, some of which have passed as facts into the stories of contemporary writers. It was said that in

performance of a penance inflicted by the Pope, Henry had obediently repaired to Rome, without either diadem or baldric, to pray at Saint Peter's; that he had been for some weeks so occupied, in ignorance of what was passing in the world, when one of his faithful friends, the Bishop of Strasburg, who had left the banks of the Rhine in all haste, came to seek him at the tombs of the martyrs Peter and Paul, and told him of the loss of his kingdom of Germany. According to the popular legend, Henry, even under such a stroke, hesitated to quit Rome without the Holy Father's leave. But, we are told, the bishop said, 'Know that the origin of the whole plot is here, and is the work of Roman perfidy; you cannot leave too secretly or too quickly.' Yielding at last to persuasion, the account goes on to say, the king quitted Rome at night with the bishop, and having reached Lombardy, which the oppressions of the Church had rendered friendly to the Empire, he was able to assemble new troops and to enter Germany to dispute the crown.

The fabulous portion of this story attests what authority, even among the king's partisans, was attached to the anathemas of the pontiff, and how far it was considered advantageous to Henry's cause to represent him as less penitent and submissive in the first instance, and to impute his ultimate resistance only to the perfidious severity employed against him.

In reality, Henry, uncertain at first whither to direct his steps on leaving Canossa, furious at his own weakness and emboldened by those who blamed it, had waited in Lombardy to seek an opportunity of surprising the Pope, of inducing him to quit his retreat,

or of separating him from his powerful ally. Disappointed in this, and returning not from a pilgrimage to Rome, but from the banks of the Mincio, held by his Italian troops, he came to the determination, a few months after Rudolph's election, to enter Germany to fight him. He advanced towards the frontiers of Italy with an increasing army; he did not, however, attempt to force the passage of the Alps by any road that was likely to be guarded by Rudolph's forces; but, returning to Verona, where he kept the feast of Easter, he entered Friuli by Aquilea, and being welcomed on his way by many of the seigneurs of Carinthia, by the Duke Markar and his son Luthold, he directed his march to Ratisbon, where the great numbers of priests living with women formed a prop to his cause. While he thus proceeded with his recruits from Northern Italy, succour from Germany came to meet him and added to his strength and confidence. The Bishops of Bâle and Lausanne, animated by the same spirit as the Bishop of Constance, who had been deprived of his see by Rudolph, met the prince with the men-at-arms they had raised in their dioceses. The Bishop of Strasburg, Verner, instead of going to Rome to seek him, where he was not, held himself ready to serve him in Germany, and in order to devote himself to him, publicly separated from his two brothers, attached to Rudolph.

Many of the clerks and monks followed the example of those bishops; and the license that Gregory VII. had attempted to repress became an arm against him. A second son of that Abbot of Saint Gall who had been deposed by Rudolph, ranged himself under the banner of his former king. Other monasteries, less known than

Saint Gall, sent men-at-arms equipped at their expense, and more than one abbot headed them himself.

Many of the lay seigneurs also joined Henry's party, either out of remembrance of their former allegiance, of jealousy at Rudolph's accession, or for fear of lasting troubles in Germany. Hermann, the Count Palatin, and many nobles of Franconia, also came into Henry's camp; and at the same time many cities, those particularly that were built on the Rhine and its confluents, and had found in Henry a protector and friend to their commerce, sent him bodies of auxiliary troops, as to the defender of the municipal franchises against the possessors of fiefs, and the bishops, who were too submissive to Rome. We cannot then doubt that, whether from the dread of the reforms announced by the Roman Church, or whether from attachment to the memory of Henry's father and grandfather, great numbers of the bishops of Germany were opposed to Rudolph, and rendered the struggle at least equal between the two rivals. Rudolph, moreover, like all newly-made kings, had soon made malcontents among his friends, and turned against himself those whose expectations he had not gratified. Whether he would not yield to all the dictates of the bishops, or whether secret orders from Rome imposed on them a sort of neutrality and reserve, he soon found himself almost abandoned by them; he could only keep about him four of their number—the Bishop of Worms, who had been driven from his see by the inhabitants of his diocese, the Bishop of Wursburg, the Bishop of Passaw, and the Bishop of Tubingen, who had long been faithful to Henry, and who had been excommunicated on

his account, but who had lately, by his submission to Rome and by Rudolph's entreaties, been restored to his bishopric by the legates of Gregory VII.

Rudolph, after having passed the Easter-week in Augsburg, repaired to Constance, already a considerable town, whose bishop, suspended in vain by Gregory VII. and zealous for Henry, shut himself up in a fortress and refused to see or to acknowledge the new king. The legates of the Pope having entered the town with Rudolph, made preparations for the bishop's trial, and again forbid that any one should receive ordination and the sacrament from his hands. Celibacy was ill-observed by the priests of this diocese ; the two legates multiplied their prohibitions, forbidding all laymen to be present at any mass celebrated by a priest living in concubinage.

Thus already were opposed to each other, the Catholic spirit and the first innovations of the reformation in that very town of Constance where, four centuries later, a council of cardinals and bishops condemned John Huss to the stake. Rudolph seconded the severity of the legates, and by so doing made himself new enemies among the clergy and the people. The same men who had exclaimed against Henry's excesses, soon regretted both the loss of the example of license he set, and that of his government, unshackled by Rome. They lauded him and pitied him as one unjustly persecuted, and this revulsion of feeling was kept up by the priests, regular and secular. Great numbers of the canons and monks, and also of the curés of the villages went about spreading these views among the people, and the people to whom Gregory VII. had appealed to judge the priests,

on the contrary, put their trust in them, believed all they said, and cursed Rudolph and his legates.

Thus, by the jealous estrangement of some of the nobles, and the antipathy of many of the German clergy to the discipline of the Roman Church, the party of Rudolph grew weaker daily, and favourable chances beckoned Henry forward. This prince, whose forces had strengthened on his march, had invaded the centre of Germany. His army, recently recruited by those same barbarians he had, a few years before, let loose upon Saxony, made frightful ravages. 'These men,' says a contemporary, 'made no difference between stables and churches, they violated women on the very altar, and led them after them, captive, in bands.'

Henry thus traversed a part of Franconia, and the provinces watered by the Mein and the Necker, and penetrating into the very heart of Rudolph's ancient duchy, reached Ulm, on the Danube, and took possession of the town. Rudolph had withdrawn without offering any resistance; he waited, and collected his forces. Henry having missed the combat he expected, held a diet of his own followers at Ulm, which pronounced the sentence of death and confiscation of their fiefs and domains upon Rudolph of Rhinfelden, the Dukes Welf and Berthold, and their principal adherents. Thanks to this policy, his camp was every day swollen by the incoming of the malcontents Rudolph had made, and the ambitious, who thought he was ruined. Some bishops even who were attached to the Roman Church arrived at Ulm. Henry flattered them by the prospect of an early agreement on his part with Gregory VII. The Patriarch of Aquilea, who was at the king's court,

even invented, to countenance this idea, some conciliatory letters from the Sovereign Pontiff; he read them in the church, before the people, as authentic evidence in Henry's favour that, during the civil war raging in the kingdom, he had been proclaimed the lawful king.

The Bishop of Augsburg, as we have said, had also declared against Rudolph, after having sworn fealty and homage to him in his episcopal city. Soon, being dissatisfied with the new king, and affecting to brave him, he joined Henry, and accompanied him to Ulm. There, as he was one day celebrating mass in great pomp, at the moment of the communion, he turned towards Henry, and, after some laudatory words, he declared that, of his own free will and before everybody, he was now going to receive the Holy Eucharist, in proof that the cause of his seigneur Henry was just and the cause of Rudolph unjust,[1] under the sacramental condition that the body and blood of Jesus Christ should serve to the destruction or to the health of his body and soul, according as he was right or wrong; and then he communicated, showing more boldness than Henry had done in his own cause.

The report of this proceeding made a great impression on the minds of both parties. The Duke Welf reported it to the Pope, qualifying it as a dangerous example to set before the people.

Gregory VII. replied, as a prophet, 'that he well knew the issue of the proof—that the perjured bishop would not taste the bread of that year's harvest.'

[1] Coram omnibus sua sponte professus est, sese Eucharistiam in probationem et hujus modi judicium accepturum fore, quod causa domini sui Henrici regis justa fuerit, Rudolphi autem prorsus injusta.—Berth. *Const. Chron.* p. 55.

Whatever may have been the motive that revived the zeal of some of the prelates in Henry's favour, succeeding events soon weakened its effect on the popular mind. The Patriarch of Aquilea died in a fit of madness very soon after the public fraud he had dared in the church; the Bishop of Augsburg was stricken about the same time with a languishing sickness, and was seen to verify by his death the threat of Gregory VII.

Still, in spite of the terror inspired by these examples, the bishops of the principal towns on either bank of the Rhine were almost all for Henry. We have seen what passed at Mayence, even during the coronation of Rudolph, and notwithstanding its bishops' zeal in his cause. The industrious city of Worms also remained faithful to the former king, and so did its bishop. It was the same in Bâle, Alsace, and Lorraine. Gregory VII. obtained little obedience from the bishops in these portions of the German dominions, and in vain did he address to them briefs to excite their faith. Some openly rejected them, others abstained from reading them in public, and, feigning not to have received any contrary order from Rome, they zealously served Henry's cause.

The inaction of Rudolph favoured this movement in Southern Germany. Henry, secure of the Rhenish provinces, and encouraged by the slow progress of his enemy, advanced to meet him on the shores of the Danube, where he was waiting for reinforcements, that came up but tardily. Rudolph, being apprised of his approach, was at first desirous of fighting, but discouragement took possession of his followers; they counted their numbers, and found they were only five

thousand. King, chiefs, and soldiers having held a consultation, determined to wait for better times, and the army dispersed.

Some of Rudolph's faithful friends made their way to the interior of Germany, to carry on a partisan war; and he, with the Bishops of Passaw, Worms, and Worsburg, the cardinal legate, and some few chosen servants, took in haste the road to Saxony, where he expected to find a safe retreat, subjects, and an army. In entering that duchy, he entered the country which had always been hostile to the German emperors, from the time of Charlemagne and the Othos down to the Henries; and, by one of those revolutions effected by time, he found an auxiliary in that Roman faith that had formerly helped to subdue the haughty and intractable nature of the Saxons. He was welcomed by the seigneurs and people with the deepest homage, invested with the royal ornaments, and received by acclamations and with oaths of allegiance as seigneur, suzerain, and king. This new master was far more acceptable to the rugged independence of the Saxons than the rule of the German Cæsars, whose yoke they had borne, and who had at various dates conquered and ravaged rather than governed their country. Rudolph, invested with all the powers of a suzerain and a judge, won the hearts of the people by hearing all their complaints and administering with equity the ancient municipal laws of the land. Henry, meantime, being set at liberty to move forward, by the retreat of his enemy into Saxony, had marched from Ulm towards Bavaria, which had been abandoned by Welf, who, having joined the Duke Berthold, covered Suabia for

Rudolph. Henry then carried out the sentence of the diet, over which he had presided, by confiscating the possessions of Welf and the principal seigneurs of the same party, and bestowed the spoil on the most faithful and useful among those who had followed his own fortunes.

These gifts had their effect. Both vassals and knights left Rudolph and came into Henry's camp, with the intention of levying contributions on the churches under his banner. Other chiefs of bands scoured the country in the king's name, but without really being in his service or aiding his cause. Civil war raged from castle to castle, from village to village, and murder, conflagration, and robbery reigned supreme. The land, ill cultivated, produced but little; the wheat and oats, trampled down before they were ripe, yielded but scanty crops, and famine spread through even the fertile cantons of Bavaria and Suabia.

The banks of the Rhine were not more secure from pillage, though the forces of the rival parties were less equally divided. Adelaide, the wife of Rudolph, kept herself shut up in a fortress in Franconia. The schismatic bishops of Lausanne, Bâle, and Zurich held the country in Henry's name, and caused the lands of Rudolph's partisans to be ravaged by their troops. But these same troops having made an attempt to penetrate into Central Germany, with the intention of marching through the country and joining Henry, were met by a body of men whom the dread of their ravages had banded against them, and who beat and repulsed them in the name of the new king.

In the midst of this sanguinary confusion, Gregory VII.

continued writing to claim the decision of a question that was thenceforward committed to the chances of war. On June 15, 1077, five months after the interview of Canossa, he, in a letter to one of his legates, dated from Carpineta, expressed his regret at not having been yet able to cross the mountains, and summoned the two rivals to submit to his arbitration, and to facilitate its peaceable enunciation.

'We enjoin you,' said he, 'on the part of blessed Peter, to go bearing this order, and, armed with our authority by the prince of the Apostles, and tell the kings—that is to say, Rudolph and Henry—that it is theirs to open unto us a way to them, and to give us, for guide and escort, such persons as possess your confidence, for that the journey be easy for us to make under the keeping of Christ; for we desire, with the help of the clergy and laity who fear and love God, to examine this matter, and to call him whom justice shall point out, to the helm of the State. You know of a truth that it lies with our duty and the providence of the Apostolic See to examine into all major causes relative to the Church, and to decide them, without appeal, according to equity. Now, the matter which is between them this day is of such great importance, and so pregnant with danger, that it cannot be neglected by us without lamentable injury, not only to you, but to the Universal Church. Wherefore, if either of the aforementioned kings shall refuse to conform to this our will, and to follow your advice, and if, kindling the torch of his pride and ambition, in opposition to the glory of God, he should endeavour to compass the desolation of the whole Roman empire, resist ye him, even if need be unto death, by all possible means, and by all our power,

or rather that of blessed Peter; and, interdicting to him the government of the kingdom, exclude him and his accomplices likewise from participation in the body and blood of our Lord, and cast him out of the Church. . . . As to him who shall have humbly submitted to our commands, and have shown, as befits a Christian, obedience and respect to the Holy See, give him, in an Assembly of the clergy and laity to be convoked by you, your help and counsel, confirm him in our name and by the authority of blessed Peter and Paul in the royal dignity, and enjoin all bishops, abbots, clerks, and laics to pay him obedience, and to render him faithful service in the name of God, as due to a king.[1]

To these private instructions Gregory VII. added, under the same date, a public letter, addressed to the archdukes, bishops, dukes, counts, and all the faithful, whether clergy or laity, great or little, in the Teutonic kingdom. He therein indicated his desire to obtain from both kings the passage into Germany, to come and decide the cause that had been stirred up between them for the sins of the community; and he appeared not as yet to have any preference, and to reserve entirely the decision of this great trial.

'Our heart,' he wrote, 'is overwhelmed with sadness at the thought that, on account of one man's pride, so many thousands of Christians should be delivered over to death, temporal and spiritual, the religion of the world troubled, and the Roman empire be brought to the verge of ruin.

'Both kings have appealed to us for help, that is to say, to the apostolic chair which we, though unworthy,

[1] Gregorii Papæ Epist. xxiii. lib. iv.

fill; and we, confiding in the mercy of God and the help of blessed Peter, are ready with your advice to decide on which side is right, and to give our assistance to the cause of justice. If either of these kings should, by reason of pride, insidiously prevent our reaching you, and should he, knowing the injustice of his cause, seek to evade the judgment of the Holy Ghost, despise ye him as a member of anti-Christ and a scourge of the Church, and respect the sentence against him which our legates shall have pronounced in our stead. But for the other, who shall have comported himself with humility, and not braved the sentence prescribed by the Holy Spirit and proclaimed by us, pay to him obedience and respect according to the decision of our legates; and aid him with all your efforts to exercise the royal power with dignity and to uphold the Holy Church that is ready to fall.

'Ye know, most dear brethren, that since our departure from Rome, we have been in great perils in the midst of the enemies of the Christian faith; still, uninfluenced by either fear or affection, we have not promised to either of the kings our help against the cause of justice, for we would rather suffer death, if needs be, than let the Church of God fall into confusion through any weakness of ours. We know that we have been ordained to the priesthood and placed in the Apostolic See, not to seek our own interests in this life but to seek the things which are Christ's, and to hope, after many labours, for eternal rest in the world to come, by the mercy of God.'

The apparent impartiality of this letter did not deceive Henry; he felt that if the Pope once set foot

in Germany, his presence would double the number of Rudolph's forces. What he most dreaded, was to see the Pope presiding over a diet in Germany, and giving his blessing to the arms of Rudolph. Far, then, from inclining to this proposal to furnish a safe conduct to his judge, he redoubled his efforts to guard more strictly all the passes of the Alps and all the roads through the Tyrol, of which he was master.

However that may be, this very proposal of Gregory's seemed to the Saxons a relaxation of the apostolic rigour. They were offended and alarmed at the idea of seeing their King Rudolph placed side by side with the excommunicated Henry, and both causes summoned before the same tribunal.

Their bishops hastened to reply in a letter entrusted to Cardinal Bernard, who was returning to Rome. The character of this lamentation must be here faithfully rendered, so as to give a true idea of the superior clergy of the time, of the power of the popes, of the domination that Gregory VII. had acquired, and at the same time of the sturdy independence preserved by those whom his example had drawn into a path which he himself hesitated to pursue.

'To the Lord apostolic and venerable Pope, his own faithful, and the faithful of Saint Peter, offer, as far as the oppressed may, salutation and homage.

'We have already laid before the Holy See many complaints of our divers afflictions. If we have not yet obtained either justice or consolation, we attribute it less to your Holiness than to our own faults. Still, if we ourselves, and, by our own counsel, had formed the enterprise which has brought down so many evils

on us, we should the more patiently bear the delay of your Holiness in coming to our assistance; but as the burden under which we labour has been imposed by your order, it is just that its weight should be lightened by the help of your hand.

'We take to witness your letters and yourself, that it is neither by our counsels nor on our own account, but to avenge the outrages offered to the Holy See, that you have deprived our king of the royal dignity; that you have forbidden us all, under your malediction, to obey him; that you have cut him off from Christian communion; and that, finally, you have bound him with the bond of anathema. In all these things we have, in great peril, obeyed your paternity. And as, since his deposition by you, we would not draw near him as others have done, he has persecuted us with such cruelty that many among us, after having lost all they possessed, have laid down their lives in the struggle, and their sons are orphans, having no longer a heritage; and as for those who are left, they are daily called on to defend their lives, and are made destitute by the war; but as no persecution could vanquish us, Henry has been overcome and forced to present himself before you, and to render, with ignominy to himself, honour to him whom he had insulted:

'What fruit have we reaped from these our labours? He whom we have, at the peril of our own souls, constrained to kiss the print of your footsteps, being absolved without our knowledge and without repentance, has recovered the liberty of injuring us. When we learned from your letter that the anathema had been removed, we perceived that nothing was changed for us touching

the throne, in regard to the sentence that had been pronounced against him; and we do not, as yet, see how anything therein can be changed. We cannot, indeed, conceive how the act can be revoked which loosed us from our oaths; and without oaths, that are the pledge of obedience, the royal authority cannot be exercised.

'Being then for more than a year without a sovereign, another was elected to the throne by our princes, in the stead of him who had prevaricated; and when this king, chosen by us, and not two kings, gave rise to great hopes of the restoration of the empire, all at once we receive your letters, speaking of two kings in one kingdom at once, and announcing a legation to each. This duplication of the title of king, and in some sort the division of the kingdom, has been followed by a division of the people and the contention of factions, especially when it was seen that in your letters the person of the prevaricator was always mentioned the first, and that you asked him, as an existing power, to give you an escort to come into this country to judge the whole question. But to us it seems astonishing—we speak with all reverence—that there should be any question; and that he who has been deposed by a judgment synodical without reserve, and replaced by another who has been confirmed by the apostolic authority, should be cited anew to vindicate himself, and that which was finally settled should be begun again, and that a thing indubitable should be again questioned.

'What none the less astonishes our infirmity is, that even if we persist firmly in our course, you give, both

by word and deed, encouragement to the opposite party. The familiars of Henry, noted for their infamy throughout the kingdom—who, in serving the king, are manifestly disobedient to the synodical decisions, and who, like their chief, have been separated from the Church by your legates—set off to Rome, are well received there, and come back not only unpunished, but honoured and triumphant, and returning to their disobedience, insult our poverty; and we look like fools to abstain from contact with those who have been so graciously received by our head. To complete our misfortunes, besides being blamed for the things in which we have ourselves failed, the faults of our adversaries are also laid upon us; when you charge us with negligence in not sending frequent legations to Rome, it is clear as day that we have been prevented by those who had pledged themselves by oath not to put any obstacle in the way; nothing is said of the forcible interception of the sacred road, or the perjury of our enemies, but we are charged with not sending intelligence. We know, most dear Father, and we hope, when we remember your piety, that you do all these things in your wisdom; but we ignorant men, being unable to fathom this mysterious dispensation, lay before you what we have seen and heard; the evils that have arisen, and continue to spring from the encouragement given to two parties at the same time, and from the doubtful adjournment of all the rest, are intestine, and worse than civil war—murders innumerable, devastation and burning of houses and churches without distinction, the pillage of ecclesiastical property such as has never been seen or heard of, and the almost irreparable

destruction of the laws, human and divine. Finally, in the struggle between the two kings who have received from you the hope of possessing the throne, there is such havoc of the royal domains, that for the future our kings will be obliged, by lack of revenues, to maintain themselves by extortions levied on their subjects.

'These evils would have already ceased, or would never have reached their present height, if your will for persevering in the path it had taken, had turned neither to the right hand nor to the left. Out of zeal for God's house you chose a harsh course, in which it is difficult to advance, but disgraceful to recede. Take care, most Holy Father, take care not to faint by the way, and do not, by prolonged delays and redoubled precautions, allow the evils, already so great, to increase and multiply. If it is painful for you to speak a few words for those who have risked their lives for you, at least succour the Church laid waste and reduced to servitude in this your day. If it does not seem prudent to you openly to resist face to face its bold destroyers, take care, at least, not to render vain what you have already done.

'For if that which has been decided in a Roman synod, and afterwards confirmed by the legate of the Apostolic See, is to be buried in silence and taken no account of, we are totally at a loss to know what it will be possible for us to hold as certain for the future. We speak these things to your Holiness, not out of arrogance, but in the bitterness of our soul, and because no sorrow is like unto our sorrow. When, indeed, we have, through obedience to the pastor, exposed ourselves to the jaws of the wolves—if we must be on our guard against

the pastor himself, we are of all men the most miserable. May God so fill you with zeal against the enemies of Christ that our hope in you cover us not with confusion.'

While the Saxons were sending to the pontiff this memorable expostulation, Henry, whose march was on no point interrupted by his antagonist, determined to enter Saxony in pursuit of him, and to overcome him in the very head-quarters of the rebellion. But, feeling the necessity of assembling all his strength for an attack on this martial province, he first fell back on Franconia, from whose fidelity he expected considerable reinforcements.

Rudolph, meantime, having information of these proceedings, determined not to await the attack, and had no difficulty in persuading the Saxons to avert, by boldly marching forward, a repetition of those ravages from which their country had suffered so much in the previous invasion. At the end of August he passed the frontiers of Saxony at the head of its brave troops, and advanced to Wurzburg, an important town of Bavaria, which had declared for Henry, and laid siege to it. The Dukes Berthold and Welf joined him with some thousand men, and the fortifications of the city, battered by their warlike engines, soon showed more than one breach; but Rudolph, so says the Saxon chronicle, checked the assault, fearing to expose the churches in the place to pillage. Henry, meantime, who could not leave such an important city that was pledged to his cause in peril, returned to Bavaria, and advanced, by forced marches, with an army composed in great part of shopkeepers, writes a Saxon chronicler,

who no doubt thus designates the recruits raised in the industrious population of the Rhenish cities.

On his rival's approach, Rudolph suspended the prosecution of the siege, and advanced with nearly all his forces to dispute his passage. Henry entrenched himself in front of his adversary, but the military burgesses, whose numbers predominated, showing signs of apprehension of the attack of the Saxon peasants, he raised his camp in the night, and threw himself into his faithful city of Worms. Protected there by the Rhine, he awaited new reinforcements from Bavaria, and an accession of those fierce Bohemian troops whom he had already employed against Saxony. Strengthened by these succours and some subsidies, he marched anew to deliver Wurzburg, and encamped at some little distance from the Necker. Rudolph again quitted the siege to meet the enemy he was so impatiently awaiting. The steep banks and rapid waters of the Necker separated the two armies, which menaced each other from either side.

Rudolph, who was old enough to be his rival's father, seemed far the most ardent and impetuous. He rode on horseback along the river's bank, apostrophised Henry and the chiefs by whom he was surrounded; sometimes calling upon them to leave the ford free that he might cross to their side and give them battle, sometimes offering to draw back himself and leave them a battle-field on his own; and sometimes offering Henry to determine the matter by a duel *à l'outrance*, which would be the judgment of God.

Henry replied not to these flourishes. Rudolph then drew back a few miles, either to leave his enemy the ground he had offered, or to induce him to advance,

deceived by an apparent flight. But Henry, who still expected new succours, did not attempt the passage. Rudolph, finding he was not pursued, returned and took up his former position on the river's bank; both armies remained there in view of each other, without coming to any engagement, but a negotiation was opened. Some of the seigneurs of Bavaria and Carinthia who were in Henry's camp, requested by his orders an interview with the Dukes Welf and Berthold. They, having lost their possessions, being separated from their vassals visited with confiscation, and exiles for the ambition of others, commanded, under Rudolph, some few troops, who were weary of the war, and were willing enough to listen to overtures of peace. After many parleys and amicable visits, an armistice was agreed to for the express purpose of assembling all the great men of the kingdom, the two kings excepted, to hold a conference in a place to be named on the shores of the Rhine; and there, in concert with the apostolic legates, to endeavour, by an impartial enquiry, to arrive at the most equitable decision of the great cause. It was also agreed that all should side against the one of the two kings who, ignoring the universal wish, should refuse to obey sentence pronounced; and that, on the contrary, the one who should unreservedly submit to it, should receive the united deference of all the members of the assembly. This was, in fact, the spirit of the directions given by Gregory VII., and the sort of judicious neutrality by which he had hastened to temper his first anathemas. The apostolic legate, Cardinal Bernard, who was in Henry's camp, recommended this policy, and seemed to consider it as certain, either to

complete Henry's ruin without bloodshed, or to force him to purchase his restoration by unlimited submission.

Two of the negotiators, the Bishops of Treves and of Metz, who were as much compromised on their own account as on Henry's, at first refused to see the cardinal. They said that the king had allowed them to take part in a conference, and to treat of conditions of peace, but under a formal pledge to entertain no injunction of either the Pope or his legates. They gave way, notwithstanding, and received from the hand of the Cardinal Bernard a letter from Gregory VII. for the convocation of an assembly at Augsburg, over which he should preside, and pronounce between the two kings. This was in appearance to ignore the expressed desire of the Saxon people, and to put in question what they claimed as an irrevocable right. But the pontiff no doubt thought that advantages would accrue to the Church from this long talked-of diet, over which he was to preside, that would counterbalance the respite given and the hopes held out to Henry.

However that may be, the negotiators on each side having pledged their word that neither of the two kings nor any of the nobles should, by force or fraud, place any obstacle in the way of the projected conference, a truce secured the return of each and all to his own place; and Rudolph, relinquishing the siege of Wurzburg, resumed, with his whole army, the road to Saxony, without striking a blow, and the whole duchy unanimously acknowledged his new sovereignty.

It is evident that, after all, this provisional division of the empire was favourable to Henry. From the condition of an excommunicated man and an ex-king, he ascended,

by the consent of his enemies, to the rank of a king, possessing a portion of his former kingdom and contending for the rest. The chances of war, too, remained, and he put them to the proof, without even waiting for the date specified for holding the diet, and without alleging any reason for the infraction of the truce which he had accepted. Having increased his army by a reinforcement of Bavarian troops, he once more marched against that ancient and rich possession of his enemy, Suabia, which was left almost defenceless, while Rudolph was strengthening himself in Saxony, and he satiated his vengeance by committing the greatest ravages, burning the castles and not sparing the churches. It is even said he set fire to one church where more than a hundred persons had taken refuge, and who perished in the flames.

This resumption of a state of war, while it justified the anathemas of Rome, soon renewed all the abuses of Henry's reign; he disposed of ecclesiastical dignities more irregularly than ever, for he sold them to whoever could pay for them and defend them by force. The See of Augsburg having become vacant by the bishop's death, he, without paying any attention to the concordat proposed by the chapter, nominated his own chaplain Siegfried, who followed him, sword in hand, in his martial encounters. He gave the abbey of Saint Gall to one of his canons, who was a thorough man of war, and also followed him, armed with sword and cuirass, in all his expeditions. These acts sufficiently prove that Henry, in accepting the truce advocated by Gregory VII., had had no intention of submitting to the judgment of a diet presided over by the

pontiff, or that at least he wholly rejected that trial when it seemed to be approaching. A certain number of the members of this diet did in fact meet at Mayence to carry out the negotiations opened on the banks of the Necker. But this assembly, at which neither of the kings was to be present, and which was held so far from the Pope, separated on the approach of winter, without having done anything.

The Pope was at Rome, one of the legates with Rudolph, in Saxony; and Henry, sword in hand, rushing through Germany, and hunting as rebels guilty of high treason all those who did not submit to his power. His chief adversaries were Welf and Berthold, the two faithful confederates of Rudolph; but without waiting for them, Henry left Bohemia, where, though the winter was far advanced, he was still besieging the fortified domain, on the banks of the Inn, belonging to the Count Ecbert. After much toil and fatigue, he managed to destroy some castles belonging to this seigneur, but the count himself escaped with his family to the court of the King of Hungary.

Rudolph had heard, while in Saxony, of the rupture of the treaty, and of the resumption of arms by Henry; but he was detained by some revolts that had broken out in Thuringia, and obliged to wait for the spring to lead the Saxon troops once more beyond their own borders. However, he transmitted to the Pope a detailed account of what he had done, of the negotiations that had been commenced, and of the renewal of hostilities by Henry.

Gregory VII., faithful to his plan of circumspection and delay, merely replied that he had been waiting the

arrival of the last letters to his legates and all the seigneurs of Germany. At the same time, and in virtue of those letters which had provided against and punished the opposition raised to the meeting of the diet, the cardinal legate convoked an assembly of bishops at Goslar on the 2nd of the Ides of November, and he there and then cut off Henry from the communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, sentenced him to exclusion from the Catholic Church, and definitely prohibited him from the government of the kingdom, because that, being a rebel of the Holy See Apostolic, he had without permission invaded the kingdom of which, by a just sentence, he had been deprived; and that further, showing himself a despiser of God and the Holy See, he had obstinately refused passage and escort to the Pope, who was ready to come and appease all discord and schism and wicked dissensions. Lastly, the legate, by the apostolic authority, confirmed Rudolph as king, and ordered all the nobles to obey him.

While Henry, thus excommunicated afresh in Goslar, but meeting no obstacle to his arms, extended to the Danube a war of devastation and pillage, he lost at Rome the last medium of a possible reconciliation, must we say his mother or his enemy? The Empress Agnes, whom we have often seen eager to interfere between her son and the Pope, but ever partial towards the Church, had continued, since Henry's excommunication and deposition, to live at Rome in all the austerity of the religious profession, the practice of almsgiving, and the society of priests. Her zeal against simonists and Nicolaists, and the sacrifice she made of maternal tenderness to the vengeance of the Church, was lauded in the

Lateran palace. During the disturbances in Lombardy and the conferences at Canossa, she had appeared to be thinking only of the danger to which the Pope was exposed, and to desire only his return. She saw him again after an absence of five months, and perhaps she took part in the new pontifical decisions which left to Henry the name of king, and brought about a truce between the two rivals; whether, however, she had lived to the term of her natural life, or whether her strength was undermined and her days shortened by the anxieties she had suffered, she soon after fell ill unto death. She had always been in the habit of using, for the alleviation of bodily pain, such medical knowledge as the noble ladies of those times possessed; but now she seemed to accept her illness with joy and to wish to die. Languishing in slow fever during fourteen days, she gave herself wholly to pious works, and bestowed all she possessed on the poor. The Pope came to her at her request, and rarely quitted her death-bed; he administered the communion to her, and received her last farewell and her last wishes. She lay, repeating with feeble voice the chants and prayers of the priests around, and died commending her soul to God, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul.

The Pope celebrated the funeral ceremony, the solemn mass for the dead, distributed alms and prescribed prayers for the repose of her soul, and interred her with great pomp in the Church of Saint Petronilla, near the altar, beside the tomb of the saint.

By such honours, and by the absolution of all her sins, it was that the Pope rewarded the enmity of a mother towards her son.

Her death, which took place in the latter end of

January 1078, deprived Gregory VII. of an instrument ever ready to promote his designs, of a servant who had been a queen, and whose name was not yet powerless in Germany. At the same time he lost one of his most faithful supporters in Rome, the prefect Cinci, a kind of armed cenobite, and an intrepid defender of the rights of the Church against all the attempts of the Roman barons; he was assassinated in an ambuscade by some partisans of his cousin, the brigand Cinci.

Gregory VII. gave him a magnificent funeral in Saint Peter's, in the presence of a large concourse of the Roman nobles and soldiery, and he dwelt earnestly on the heinousness of the crime which had deprived the city of its first magistrate. His death and that of Agnes were perhaps among the causes that kept him in Rome, and made him hesitate to take the long-promised journey to Germany, for which no safe-conduct came.

The Christmas Day which opened the year 1078 in Germany broke on the separate residences of the two kings at Goslar and at Ratisbon; Rudolph continued to pass the winter in his new palace, whilst Henry had again taken the field, though the snow was lying on the ground. Nevertheless, he had not wholly renounced all hope of negotiating a reconciliation with Rome, but at Rome itself, and without the Pope's meeting among the German malcontents on their own side of the mountains.

Towards the close of the winter, he despatched two envoys, the Bishops of Osnabruck and Verdun, to attend the annual council of Rome, and once more plead his cause. A similar legation seems to have been sent by Rudolph. Henry's negotiators easily made their way

through Lombardy, and reached Rome, where they scattered both money and promises in profusion.

Gregory VII. had convoked even his enemies to this assembly, promising them immunity and security. Such were the terms of a brief addressed to the Archbishop Guibert and all his suffragans, but neither Guibert nor any of the legates of Lombardy appeared.

The Pope opened the council in the beginning of March, in presence of seventy bishops of Italy and France and the ordinary members furnished by the Roman Church.

Henry's envoys, being admitted after a profession of obedience to the Pope, deplored their master's misfortunes and his wrongs, dwelling especially on the fact that Rudolph, Henry's own vassal and knight, bound by his oath to assist him in his person in all things, was a perjured traitor, like all those who had joined him in dethroning his sovereign; they added that, though the king, their master, laid this complaint before the council, it was not because he could not easily conquer his enemies by force of arms, but that it had appeared to him just and right to appeal to the sovereign judgment of the pontiff on this point.

A murmur of approbation followed this speech. Many members of the council, gained over either by the public words or private promises of Henry's envoys, seemed ill-disposed towards Rudolph; and some even demanded that a canonical enquiry should be instituted against him.

The pontiff, with an appearance of the most impartial serenity, protested that, until he had examined the whole question, the excommunication pronounced by his

légate was doubtful to him, and that he could not yet pronounce any decision. He declared, moreover, that he had received embassies and professions of obedience from both kings, and that he was well aware that there were in each party many of the nobles, bishops, and wise and pious men of the kingdom; that it behoved them, then, carefully to deliberate, and that he entreated them all to pray for the guidance of the Holy Spirit to bring about the union and pacification of the Church, now torn by so many schisms and divisions.

The cause of the kings of Germany was thus put off to the following Saturday, and the council gave its attention to other matters. It received the evidence that testified to the miracles that had, so it was said, marked the life and death of the prefect Cinci, that defender of the Church whose name recalled the recent attack of his unworthy nephew on Gregory VII. At the same time it was decided to honour the memory of another soldier of the Pope, that knight Herlinbald who, many years before, had made war upon the schismatics of Milan, with zeal, the violence or necessity of which it would be difficult to judge at so distant a period. In the after troubles in Milan on the subject of the simonist or married priests, Herlinbald had been killed in the streets of the city; and the council, in view no doubt of the new perils of the Church, thought it advisable to enregister the miracles said to have been performed at the tomb of such a defender of Rome, and it took pleasure in canonising his memory on this occasion.

Meantime the Pope, in his deliberations in regard to Germany, never lost sight of his idea of a diet presided over by himself or by his legates, and in which the

seigneurs and prelates of the kingdom should in a meeting, from which the two kings should be excluded, decide their disputes without appeal.

The following Saturday, Gregory VII. made his solemn entrance into the council, attended by the seven suffragan bishops of the See of Rome, and announced his intention of claiming, in regard to the kingdom of Germany, the preliminary judgment of a diet presided over by himself or by his orders. All the members of the council having approved, the Pope rose up, and the tapers being lighted, he pronounced sentence of anathema upon all kings, dukes, bishops, high and low, who by fraud, manœuvres, force, or artifice should, from any motive whatsoever, hinder the approaching meeting, interrupt the arrival of the apostolic legates, or refuse religiously to observe the decision taken by general consent in that assembly by the legates apostolic, the nobles of the kingdom, the seigneurs and true men elected to deliberate.

After the form had been pronounced, the Pope and the seven suffragans reversed the lighted tapers and extinguished them on the ground. Having made Henry's envoys the witnesses of this menacing symbol, the pontiff loaded them with earnest entreaties and paternal advice, to induce their master to keep peace with all his enemies till the union and during the sittings of the future diet. He even sent two new nuncios to accompany Henry's ambassadors on their return, whose appointed duty was to see the king and beg him to name a day and place of his own choosing for the meeting of the diet, and, when all the convocations should have been issued, to return and give information to

Rome, in order that the Pope might despatch legates extraordinary, who should arrive on the day fixed, and by the shortest road, at this assembly, where they were to be at once the mediators and the arbiters. But, for all these pacific demonstrations, Gregory VII. let Henry's messengers depart, without giving them the papal benediction for their master. The reason of this reservation was a report that the legate then at Goslar had excommunicated the prince anew.

The envoys of Rudolph had already quitted Rome, after a secret audience of the Pope, loaded with benedictions and indulgences for their king, and for all who should be steadfast in obeying and promoting the apostolic decrees, heartily and willingly, in the peace of Christ—fair and Christian words, that had already roused Saxony in arms!

Meantime, the council of Rome, obsequious to the Pope in all things, relaxed nothing of its accustomed severity. New anathemas were pronounced against the archbishops and bishops of Ravenna, Milan and Treviso in particular, and all simonist and unchaste priests in general, especially those who, already lying under excommunication, had continued their ecclesiastical functions or taken back their wives. As for those who had received ordination from bishops canonically suspended, all the sacraments but baptism were withdrawn from them; other sentences were levied against any layman who should have disposed of any ecclesiastical office or property, or have granted it as a fief. Lastly, he who should have attacked or pillaged a consecrated church, or the courts or cemeteries of such church, or any cloister or property, serving

for the maintenance of priests or holy virgins, was particularly anathematised.

However, the Pope, while pronouncing those general sentences against whole classes of sinners, abstained from specifying individuals, and nothing was said in regard to many Lombard and German bishops who had declared against him, whether it was that he desired to give them time to repent, or that he resolved to await a more favourable occasion for excommunicating them.

Henry was at Ratisbon when he received the first message from the ambassadors he had sent to Rome. No longer hoping, after this report, either reconciliation with the pontiff or peace in Germany, he returned in all haste to Mayence, and then to Cologne, with all the troops he could assemble. He was there met by his ambassadors and the Pope's nuncios, and heard a detailed account of all that had passed at the council.

Unwavering in his resolution to avoid the judgment of a diet presided over by his mortal enemies, he affected to cast on Rudolph alone the delay of its convocation and the infraction of the pontifical injunctions. We may judge of the power of Rome over men by this fact alone; the king and his counsellors affected to believe the Pope still impartial, and his anathemas suspended over the heads of both rivals alike.

Some weeks, however, before this, at the celebration of the feast of Easter in Goslar, Rudolph had publicly testified to the Roman Church that submission, whose refusal before and after him was the cause of the long quarrel between the priesthood and the empire. Henry, as we have seen, had just disposed of the rich bishopric

of Augsburg according to his own pleasure; but the chapter, the clergy, and a large number of the inhabitants of the city had designated for this dignity a learned canon, whose selection would certainly have been approved by Rome. Rejected by Henry, this canon, whose name was Wigold, took refuge with Rudolph. The new king did not interfere, as not himself having the right of nomination; but the election of Wigold to the See of Augsburg was confirmed by the cardinal legate in presence of Siegfried, Archbishop of Mayence, and nine bishops of Rudolph's party.

Wigold, thus solemnly consecrated on Easter Day, received from the hands of the Archbishop Siegfried the episcopal crosier and ring, and Rudolph then delegated to him regal rights for the administration of certain fiefs of his church. All these ceremonies did not give Wigold possession of the least bit of the splendid bishopric of Augsburg; but the Roman Church had the satisfaction of seeing its exclusive right to collate and invest with ecclesiastical dignities publicly acknowledged.

Meantime, Henry, who was in quiet possession of the rest of Germany, but who dreaded a final struggle with his enemy, who held the martial province of Saxony, took advantage of the arrival of the Pope's nuncios to essay new negotiations. He sent to the Saxon chiefs to propose a conference; Rudolph and his party consented. The place fixed on for the interview was the town of Fritzlar, in Hesse, a few leagues distant from Cassel. The Saxon nobles, bishops, and counts hastened thither by Rudolph's consent; but on

Henry's part there only came the officers of his palace, some bishops and counsellors of his court, but no independent seigneurs. The proud Saxons at first refused to negotiate with these, who, however, managed to obtain a hearing, and gave proof of considerable address by perverting the account of the acts of the last council of Rome, protesting that the sentence of anathema pointed at Rudolph, and that it was his party that had been censured by the Pope as perjured and rebels to their king.

The Saxons, by way of showing that, far from dreading the arrival and the judgment of the Pope, they should hail both with joy, replied by demanding the convocation of the diet, and by promising religiously to obey all it should decree ; and they declared they would hold as excommunicated and cut off from the Church all who should disobey the Pope by opposing the sentence pronounced. They then commissioned one of their number to go back with Henry's envoys and ask the prince and his adherents to fix a place and date for holding the diet, promising to appear there and then in spite of every obstacle. The proposal was accepted, and the conference broke up, promising to maintain peace till the meeting of the diet.

Henry's negotiators returned, accompanied by the Saxon envoy, to their master on the banks of the Rhine. The king and his court adroitly profited by the Saxon's presence, by speaking of him to his face as a hostage sent by the rebels. For the rest, Henry took care to come to no decision as to the time and place for holding the diet, but gained time by saying he would hold no conferences with rebels, but that for love of

the Lord Pope he was ready to receive into his forgiveness all who should make their submission to him.

Rudolph and the Saxon chiefs were not slow to understand this policy, and while they clearly perceived that Henry would on no condition accede to this diet of the Pope's ordering, they comforted themselves by the assurance that thenceforth the whole burden of the anathema must fall upon him. Henry, moreover, was not very exact in keeping the truce. While the Saxon envoy was still at his court, his troops took possession of a fortress on the Rhine in Rudolph's territories. He seemed, too, equally resolved on open war against the Pope, rather than consent to this diet, commanded under pain of anathema.

The nuncio of Gregory VII. having pressed him on this point with the accustomed apostolic haughtiness, he went into such a rage that it was necessary for some time to keep the bold messenger of Rome out of his sight. Calmed, however, by reflection, he received this nuncio in public, and housed him in his palace, thinking it advantageous to show the people that he had at his court a legate apostolic, as Rudolph had at his a Roman cardinal. But he displayed none the less obstinacy in his refusal and vigour in his acts. The Bishop of Metz and some seigneurs of Lorraine, who had come to him with conciliatory views, having announced that they remained faithful to the Pope, he followed them on their return with a body of troops, and threw a garrison into Metz, which drove them out of the place. He then hastened to Strasburg, where he installed as bishop, in opposition to the wishes of the clergy of the cathedral, his own chaplain, Thiebald,

vicar of the church of Constance; and, thinking himself secure of the Rhenish provinces, he turned all his attention to carrying the war to the shores of the Danube. He found Bavaria quiet, recruited his army there for the war against Saxony, and at the end of May celebrated the feast of Pentecost with great pomp at Ratisbon, dragging with him, in his suite, the legate of Gregory VII.

Rudolph was on this same day at Goslar, surrounded by the seigneurs of Saxony and Thuringia, and, with them, making preparations for an approaching expedition. He had received envoys sent by the malcontents of Flanders and Lorraine from the court of the king of Hungary, promising him succours in the name of God and Saint Peter. There even came an embassy from the indolent Philip of France, who was interested in fomenting a war against his formidable neighbour, the King of Germany.

In directing his march towards the Danube, Henry had exposed the shores of the Rhine to new troubles; Alsace and the whole of Austrasia immediately became the prey of private warfare. The pillage that had been carried on by Henry's partisans was revenged by like pillage; the Bishops of Strasburg and Bâle, who were pledged to his cause, had made numerous levies of peasants in support of it. This army was beaten by a son of the Duke Berthold, and the two bishops obliged to fly.

The Dukes Berthold and Welf, with numerous troops, ravaged the other bank of the Rhine, and intended to return by way of Suabia and rejoin Rudolph on the Saxon frontier; but on their way they fell in

with an army of Henry's. They were assailed on their march by troops of armed peasants, whom Henry had raised, and who spread over the plain to the number of ten thousand.

But Henry's forces being insufficient to prevent the reunion of the two armies, he still affected a desire for peace, and sent emissaries to Rudolph and the principal Saxon chiefs; and then, suddenly unfolding his banner, he made an unexpected assault on his rival's camp near Melrischtald.

Rudolph, surprised, rushed from his camp, and hastily formed his order of battle; his two wings were commanded by the Duke Otho, and Frederic, the prefect of the palace. He defended himself with vigour; the fight was well disputed and full of vicissitudes. On Rudolph's side, the cardinal and the other priests, who ought not to have been in the combat at all, were the first to fly before the sharp attack of the enemy. One of their number, Werner, Bishop of Magdeburg, while wandering about in the woods, fell, pierced by an arrow, shot by one of the brigands of the country; another, Werner, Bishop of Mersburg, was robbed by the same band, and only saved himself half-naked; the Cardinal Bernard, and Siegfried, Archbishop of Mayence, were arrested in their flight; the Bishop of Worms, Adalbert, was led prisoner into Henry's presence.

Rudolph, who had found threats and prayers equally unavailing to keep the bishops, was so disconcerted by their flight that he began to retreat.

However, a party of the Saxons repulsed with equal vigour and success the German corps; their pass-word

was Saint Peter. In the mêlée a Saxon, thinking he was speaking to one of his own party, had addressed with the pass-word one of Henry's soldiers; the German, raising his sword, answered, 'Take what Saint Peter sends thee.' The Saxon parried the stroke, and cleft his enemy's skull, saying, 'And thou take what that mad tyrant Henry sends thee.'

Such was the ardour that animated the two armies; the one zealous enough for Henry to brave the Church, and the other believing itself the army of Saint Peter and the instrument of his vengeance. So, notwithstanding the disappearance of the bishops and the retreat of Rudolph, the Saxons conquered at last.

The Duke Otho and the Count Frederic put Henry's troops to flight on two points, and pursued him to the distance of several miles. Frederic afterwards returned with his men to the battlefield, which remained in possession of the Saxons, and where they passed the night in songs of thanksgiving.

The Duke Otho, on his return from the pursuit, failing to recognise the troops under Frederic's command, and fearing to engage in a new combat, withdrew towards the Saxon frontier, and the following day Frederic, having reassembled his own men and the stragglers of the corps, followed the same route.

The Saxons thus retreating conquerors, and in high spirits, ravaged everything on their way. At Smalcalde and its neighbourhood they avenged themselves for the ill-turn the country folk had the night before done their stragglers, particularly the bishops. They delivered Siegfried out of their hands, and triumphant at having found this holy man, they brought him back, with hymns of praise to God.

On Henry's side there fell, says a chronicler, more than thirty noble knights and five thousand of the people. The greatest loss to Henry that day was Eberhard, his former ambassador to Rome and Milan, and one of his most faithful supporters.

On Rudolph's side there fell but few of the people, and no man of mark, except the Bishop of Magdeburg. The prompt retreat of the Saxons is explained by the separation of their principal leaders after the fight, and the anxiety of this simple and laborious people to get to their homes in time for the harvest.

Rudolph, who had joined his party after the battle, having held counsel that night with his chiefs, was forced by them to lead them back to Saxony, in virtue of the promise he had made not to advance any farther if he were victorious; and thus losing the advantage he had gained, or at least deferring the opportunity of profiting by it to reduce the rest of the empire, he found himself once more in the only province that had been long Henry's enemy.

BOOK VII.

1078–1080.

Henry had marched with the remains of his army into Bavaria, and took refuge at first in Augsburg. Berthold and Welf, having learned the retreat of the victorious Saxons and the flight of Henry, had taken the road to Suabia, loaded with plunder, as if the war were over. Henry had taken care to spread the report that he had conquered the Saxons; and certain it is that, even though vanquished, he had closed the road to Germany to them. Whatever may be thought on that matter, many messengers were sent by him to announce both in Lombardy and in Rome his victory and the entire defeat of Rudolph.

This intelligence prolonged the Pope's uncertainty till the moment when the Cardinal Bernard, who had been an eye-witness of the battle of Melrischtald, returned to Rome and protested against the stories of Henry's cunning emissaries. That prince, having devoted some weeks to rallying his troops, came in the month of October to Ratisbon to hold an assembly of the seigneurs of his party. He told them, in the most positive terms, that the Saxons had been so weakened in the last combat that there were not enough left even to till their fields. He exhorted them, then, to prepare

soon to accompany him to invade their fertile and ill-defended territory. We are told that, in presence of this assembly, he gave audience to some pretended messengers from Otho and the Duke Hermann, who declared that those nobles, being the only ones who remained of the Saxon freemen—nearly all the rest having fallen in the battle—repented of having resisted the royal authority, and that they humbly awaited Henry's arrival, and begged him to send them men to till their desert lands.

We cannot but be surprised, both that such a clumsy stratagem should have been attempted, and that it should have deceived Henry's own subjects and others who had fought under him.

However that may be, his promises inflamed the cupidity of the German nobles ; they were, every one of them, eager to march, so that the army being small, the portions of land to be got might be larger.

Henry then promptly advanced at their head as far as the forest that separates Thuringia from Germany; but when there, they were informed by their scouts that the Saxon army, encamped beyond the wood, was more numerous than ever; 60,000 men were there under arms, resolved to die in the defence of their homes.

On the receipt of this intelligence, the German chiefs hesitated to march through the forest. Henry determined, however, to profit by their presence, by undertaking another enterprise, and persuaded them to march with him on Suabia, less formidable and richer. He invaded this duchy, defeated the troops of Welf and Berthold, and carried rapine and pillage all over the country. The terrified inhabitants took refuge in the

churches, with the money or the furniture they thought they should thus save. But the Bohemian adventurers in Henry's army pursued their prey into the holy places, and uniting sacrilege to pillage, they robbed the priests, scattered relics, and, drunk with wine and gorged with food, satisfied the vilest necessities on the altars. It is even said that at Altdorf and many other towns they repeatedly stabbed the mutilated image of Christ.

The presence of the bishops attached to Henry's cause, and who followed his camp, added to these unheard-of horrors. The most cruel reprisals were made; the inhabitants of the country disfigured and well-nigh hacked to pieces every one of Henry's soldiers they could lay hold of.

It was, no doubt, in the hope of putting an end to this terrible state of things that Gregory VII. held a new council at Rome on the 13th of the Calends of December 1078; the envoys of both kings of Germany again appeared there. Both sides swore that their masters had put no obstacle in the way of the projected diet under the presidency of the Pope. The interest of Rudolph was a pledge of his sincerity; and his envoys inspired as much confidence as those of Henry did distrust. The latter, however, endeavoured to solicit the renewal of the pontifical anathema against Rudolph, for having invaded, in arms, the state of the king, his seigneur; but they were silenced by the general voice, and the council seemed far more disposed to pronounce sentence of excommunication against Henry for his perjury and disobedience. Further time to repent and to answer for himself was given

to Henry, and his envoys departed from Rome as before, without having received the apostolic benediction which was bestowed on the embassy of Rudolph.

This council sanctioned anew the prohibitions interdicting the laity from disposing of Church dignities, the usurpation of Church property, or the receipt of tithes. A sentence of minor excommunication was pronounced against every Norman who, having committed depredations on the lands or property of Monte Cassino, should not amend his ways at the second, or at most the third warning.

During this time, Henry was busy levying troops and making preparations for continuing the war; he gave the rich bishopric of Cologne to Sigwine, a priest who was devoted to him; and he excited all the Rhenish cities openly to renounce the Pope. Meantime, Rudolph, attacking in his turn, had made a rapid raid beyond the Saxon borders, but he returned without having come to any decisive encounter; and on his re-entrance into Saxony was seized with a violent fever, which kept him for two months apparently at the point of death. Recovered at length, he was making preparations for resuming the campaign, at the beginning of March 1079, when several seigneurs of Henry's party arrived to have an interview with the Saxon nobles; they lamented over the miseries of the war, and expressed their desire of peace in some shape, pledging their word, for themselves and for Henry, to obey the Lord Pope and the wishes of the nobility, and offering hostages as guarantees. The principal Saxon seigneurs were nothing loth; they persuaded Rudolph to adjourn the war, and a conference was appointed to be held in

the middle of the month at Fritzlar. The principal Saxons came, but the seigneurs of Henry's party had by that time changed their tone, and were no longer ready to treat on equal conditions. They declared that they had only come to the conference to render a service to the Saxons, by arranging easy terms for their return to their lawful seigneurs; that for the rest, they did not care for the Pope, that the King Henry did not care either, and had accordingly declined to send an embassy to accompany the pontiff's legates to Rome, as he had requested. The Saxon seigneurs, though greatly surprised, still made some vain attempts for peace, and after having wasted some days to no purpose, they withdrew in anger.

At the same time, the German party opposed to Henry lost one of its leaders, the Duke Berthold; but his faithful ally, Welf of Bavaria, nevertheless invaded that part of the Tyrol and the Grisons that was then called Rhetia palatine, and which had remained particularly obedient to Henry; he had there vanquished the son of the governor Otho, took the small town of Clusa, and carried off considerable booty.

During the fruitless conference of Fritzlar, the Pope opened a new council at Rome, February 1079. Above fifty prelates and heads of monasteries met. Among those present were to be remarked the Cardinal Bernard and the Bishops of Metz and Passaw, who, having recently made their escape from Germany in disguise, and through many perils, appeared as new witnesses against Henry.

A new embassy from that prince had also just reached Rome, and demanded to be heard by the council. The

envoys of Rudolph, who had arrived at the same time, claimed the same favour.

The council, however, which was assembled at the Church of Saint Saviour's, proceeded with the adjourned trial of the celebrated Berengarius, who had been again cited to appear that year.

The Archdeacon of Tours, who was then eighty years of age, was introduced with two of his disciples; and the discussion of the heresy of which he was accused, and which he had professed and disavowed by turns through a long series of years, was discussed. This opinion, which revived the ancient doctrine of Arius and shadowed forth that of the Protestant reformation, excited in the middle ages neither violent schism nor civil wars, precisely because its extreme boldness rendered it premature; the true quarrels of that time turned on the material questions of authority and discipline, lay investiture and the celibacy of priests. An abstract heresy, regarding the Eucharist, seemed less dangerous and less contagious; and this is, no doubt, the explanation of the lenity Gregory VII. exercised towards Berengarius, never imposing on him any punishment beyond a disavowal of his doctrines.

The opinions of Berengarius had, nevertheless, some partisans in the very council, who maintained that the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ was only a figure. But in the second sitting those speakers were put to silence by the numbers and the arguments of their adversaries. Berengarius himself gave in, as he had often done before, and consented to pronounce a more explicit and

formal retraction than he had ever previously been called on to make.

After this solemn and last disavowal, the Pope, in the name of God and of the Apostles Peter and Paul, forbid Berengarius ever again to enter into any argument respecting the body and blood of Christ, or to undertake the teaching of anyone, except to bring back to the faith those whom he had misled by his doctrine. He then sent him away honourably, under the conduct of an officer of the Roman Church, and with a brief, which was a kind of apostolic firman, that silenced all reproach, and opened every road to the Archdeacon of Tours:

'Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to all the faithful in Saint Peter, health and benediction:

'We hereby inform you, that by the authority of God the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, and the holy apostles Peter and Paul, we lay under anathema whomsoever shall injure Berengarius, son of the Church, or his person or his goods, or who shall even call him heretic; seeing that, after a long stay with us, in compliance with our wishes, we send him home accompanied by our liegeman Fulcon.'

After the conclusion of the trial of Berengarius, the ambassadors of Henry and Rudolph were admitted. The chief of Rudolph's envoys then gave a moving description of the miseries of Suabia, and accused Henry of carrying on a merciless war in the provinces beyond the Alps, and of carrying away and imprisoning like slaves, not only the priests but the bishops, and of having had several put to death.

'At these vivid descriptions the Pope and many of those who were present shed tears. Henry's am-

bassador then spoke in defence of his master, whose cause had still many friends in the Roman synod. But the Pope accused their statements of falsehood; he declared that all the embassies of Henry were corrupt, that he had judicially deposed that prince and had never reinstated him, that he should already have excommunicated him if the men of both parties had not been equally desirous that the sentence should be deferred to Ascension Day, so that the Roman council might not be charged with doing anything precipitate or irregular. Henry's negotiator protested that if his master had not, in conformity with the decree of the last synod, sent an embassy to Rome to fetch the apostolic legates and conduct them safely to the diet, it was without any perfidious intention, and he took the following oath:

"'The deputies of the king, my master, shall appear before you before the feast of the Ascension, saving legitimate cause of absence, death, sore sickness or captivity, and they shall loyally convoy the legates of the Holy See, and shall likewise safely conduct them back; and the lord king shall be obedient to the same legates in all things conformably to their decision, and he shall faithfully perform all this except for the causes aforesaid; and this I swear by order of Henry, my king and master.'

The envoy of Rudolph took an oath worded differently: 'If a conference be established in conformity with your orders in the Teutonic kingdom, our master, the King Rudolph, shall come himself, or shall send some bishops and some of his liegemen to the place, and at the time appointed, and shall be ready to submit to the judgment pronounced by the Holy Roman

Church in regard to this question of royalty; and he shall not, by any evil artifice, hinder the meeting devised by you or by your legates. And when he shall know your decision, he shall use all his efforts to enable your legates to bring about the peace of the kingdom and the restoration of concord. And all these things shall be done saving the causes that shall be admitted by your leave, and the legitimate hindrances of death, sore sickness and captivity.'

Gregory VII. then repeated the sentence of excommunication upon all who had put or should put any obstacle in the way of the meeting of this conference.

The Pope then excommunicated the Archbishop of Narbonne; Thédald, Archbishop of Milan; Roland, Bishop of Treviso; and the Bishops of Fermo and Camerino.

Another sentence was pronounced upon Eberhart, Bishop of Parma, whose soldiers had kept prisoner the abbot of the rich monastery of Reichnaw, who, despoiled by Henry, was on his way to be present at the council.

Gregory VII. had long spared this bishop, though he was a German and zealous for Henry; but exasperated by such an act of violence, he wrote to him in the name of the synod: 'Thou hast, by whose orders or counsel I know not, committed a great crime against a holy man. Had he done thee wrong he should not have been detained, seeing he was coming to us. We enjoin thee then, by the apostolic authority, if thou hast not yet set him at liberty, immediately, on the receipt of this letter, to have him honourably conducted to Matilda; still, for having arrested him, thou

shalt abstain from episcopal functions till such time as thou hast appeared before us ; and if, as we do not believe, thou shalt fail to obey this order, we prohibit thee, on the part of Saint Peter, from entrance into a church.' In the interval, the abbot purchased his liberty by the promise of a heavy ransom, and soon arrived at Rome, to add to the number of Henry's accusers.

In this same council Gregory VII. pronounced divers excommunications against the seigneurs who at Mayence, Worms, Metz, and many other cities had seconded the king against the bishop, and taken possession of a portion of the Church property. Folmart, count of the city of Metz, and Thierry, Duke of Lorraine, were thus excommunicated on the complaint of Hermann.

Matilda had written in favour of this Duke Thierry, and spoke of him as being obedient to the Holy See. The Pope thus severely censured his faithful friend: 'Since thou hast sent to us to know our opinion in regard to Thierry's wish to join himself in marriage to the widow of the Margrave Petrona, we reply: He is not sufficiently known to us, nor has she been sufficiently confided to us, that we should have anything to do with the matter. Thou tellest us this same duke is ready, if we consent, to be the medium of peace between us and King Henry; to which we reply: The envoy of the king has just sworn in the council, by his orders, that he would obey our decision in all things. For the rest, as thou art not ignorant that the said duke has already been excommunicated by the Bishop of Metz, know that we have given our approbation to that sentence, and that it stands confirmed,

unless he shall within twenty days of the receipt of our decree submit to our commands and have given up the town and revenues of Saint Stephen, and made satisfaction to the Church.'

Gregory VII. renewed two important regulations in this council; that which invalidated all orders conferred by excommunicated persons, and that which loosed from all fealty towards them; but, at the same time, he ameliorated the severity of the anathema by a lenity that was considered great in those days. He exempted from it all who should approach the excommunicated, either in ignorance or by necessity—wives, children, servants, serfs of the soil or hired servants; those, in fact, says the decree, who are not sufficiently courtiers for the evil to have come to pass through their counsels. The decision of the council added: We give leave to every husbandman or stranger who shall arrive in the country of the excommunicated to buy, or if he has no money, to accept from the excommunicated those things of which he has need, and we do not either forbid the giving of some things to the excommunicated themselves, not to nourish their pride, but out of humanity.

At the same time that the pontiff administered reproof and punishment to his adversaries, he directed his attention to tightening the bonds of the bishops who were faithful to him. He exacted from the recently-nominated Bishop of Aquilea an oath of allegiance similar to that taken by vassals, and by which the prelate promised to serve the Roman Church by the arms of the age when he should be called on.

Lastly the pontiff determined formally to mark his

gratitude towards the monastery that had been his asylum in youth, and which had furnished the most zealous defenders of his cause. He renewed the ancient brief of immunity of Cluny, with the greatest privileges any religious house had ever enjoyed. After having stated, as a matter within his personal knowledge, that this monastery was superior to any other in fervour and sanctity, he says: 'It never had an abbot who was not a saint. Neither abbots nor monks, pure sons of the Church, have at any time degenerated—have never bowed the knee to Baal or to Jeroboam; but, copying the liberty and dignity of the Holy Roman Church, they have preserved the independence that was theirs originally. They have never been subject to any foreign or terrestrial power, and have stood firm in the obedience of blessed Peter and the Church. 'Wherefore we will and ordain, by the authority apostolic, that no one, little or great; no power, whether archbishop, or bishop; no king, marquis, duke, prince, count, nor even our own legate, shall ever exercise jurisdiction in that place or over that monastery.'

Gregory VII. then adjourned the council till after the feast of Pentecost, and he named three legates, Henry, Patriarch of Aquilea; Ulric, Bishop of Padua; and the famous Peter Igneus,[1] whom he had made Bishop of Albano, to go to Henry and hasten the fulfilment of the promises made by his last ambassadors. He called upon him, through them, to maintain peace with all his enemies, to give facilities for the return to their sees of such bishops as he had driven away; and, lastly, he called upon him to send to Rome seven of

[1] Aldobrandini.

the principal and most religious men of his court, who should be his sureties, and escort to the diet the legates extraordinary, watch over their safety when there, and afterwards bring them back to the Holy See.

The Patriarch of Aquilea, whether through interest or through fear, was in no haste to fulfil his mission; he sent Henry information of it by a secret message, and halted on the road.

Henry, being anxious to procure a delay, without either formally accepting or decidedly refusing, immediately despatched one of his confidants, the Bishop of Osnabruck, in order to elude the Pope's demands, and still to defer the sentence of the Council. He meantime strengthened himself by bestowing the duchy of Suabia on the Count Frederic, one of his partisans, and by subjecting Bavaria and Carinthia, which Welf, being weakened by the loss of Berthold, was no longer able to defend.

At the same time, Rudolph received at Goslar the intelligence of a great loss, that of his wife, the Duchess Adelaide, who during the last two years had taken up arms in his cause in the diocese of Constance. Often either besieged or flying from one castle to another, Adelaide sank in the unequal struggle, after having done and suffered much. The monks of Saint Blaise, in the Black Forest, received her remains and interred them with great honours. She left a son, who was still a child, and a daughter, whom Rudolph soon after gave in marriage to the youthful Berthold of Carinthia.

On his election Rudolph had transferred to his son his title of Duke of Suabia, and he thought the time had now come to put him in possession; he entrusted

with this duty the Duke Welf, who, with some seigneurs and vassals, took the child to Ulm and proclaimed him there. But after this inauguration, Welf having withdrawn, the Count Frederic, whom Henry had nominated Duke of Suabia, appeared before Ulm, and after some fighting took possession of the town ; but he dared not defend himself in it against the hurried return of Welf, and having allowed a considerable fortress that had declared for him to be taken, he considered his enterprise a failure and left the duchy.

During this military diversion the negotiations had been resumed. The Patriarch of Aquilea and the other legates of the Holy See, notwithstanding the slowness of their journey, had at last arrived, and by pressing entreaties had extracted from Henry a promise in conformity with the oaths his ambassadors had taken at Rome. They had thereupon sent messages to Rudolph and the other Saxon chiefs, to Welf and the principal seigneurs of Suabia, pressing them to repair to Fritzlar for a final conference.

Henry complied with all demands and named an escort to meet them ; but this escort did not appear, and the Saxon envoys were assailed on crossing that border by bands of roving Bohemians ; but the soldiery that guarded the Saxon frontier came to their rescue and secured them a passage.

Having reached Fritzlar, the Saxon seigneurs welcomed with the greatest deference the legates of the Holy See, who announced themselves as mediators and messengers of peace. They declared that they and their king and all the Saxon people were ready to obey the commands of the Pope, as to the strict observation

of the truce, the peaceable and regular enquiry into the causes of the war, and unreserved submission to the decision of the diet; but that, having had frequent experience of the perfidy of their adversaries, they desired to have hostages from them, and were ready to give some on their side.

The Patriarch of Aquilea and some other of Henry's partisans held out against this demand as being unnecessary and insulting; but they finally promised to induce Henry to agree to it, and the meeting was appointed for the feast of the Assumption, in the city of Wurzburg.

In accepting this long-deferred conference, however, Henry had no intention of treating on equal terms with a powerful enemy, but to give audience to subjects. This public announcement and his own presence drove from the assembly of Wurzburg many of the Suabian and Saxon seigneurs. Henry appeared with the legates of Rome, who had either been intimidated by his menaces or gained over by his presents. He was accompanied by learned clerks zealous in his cause, and instead of defending himself, he became the accuser, and publicly laid before the legates of the Holy See his complaint against the disturbers of the kingdom of Germany, and called for the pronunciation of the pontifical anathema on Rudolph and his adherents, adding that, for himself, he had obeyed the Pope, and that his enemies alone were guilty of disobedience, and had incurred excommunication.

The apostolic legates, however willing to please Henry, could not carry their complaisance quite so far as this. They eluded his demand, and declared that they had

not come to lay down conditions of peace, but to decide the time and place of the conference decreed by the Pope, and in view of it, to examine into the depositions made by the two parties, and to report on them at Rome ; that after that had been done, they, with other colleagues named by the Pope, would judge the great cause on which their decision had been invoked.

By this protestation they put a stop to further proceedings, and the Assembly of Wurzburg broke up without having accomplished anything.

Henry was determined to decide the question by arms only, and keeping the legates with him, he marched with them and his army towards the Saxon frontier. Rudolph was prepared to defend himself with numerous troops. Still, before engaging, he sent new messages to the principal seigneurs in Henry's army, to beg them in the name of God to respect the conference commanded by the Pope, and to promote its meeting in good faith and not by a simulated desire for peace ; that if they refused, he would attack them boldly and treat them as hardened enemies of peace and justice.

This appeal touched the hearts of the German seigneurs; they all desired peace, with the exception of the bishops of their party, who were rendered implacable by the zeal of schism. They gathered round Henry, and in spite of his opposition, his upbraiding, and his tears of rage, they constrained him, though burning for combat, to negotiate still. In compliance with their wishes thus imposed, the Pope's legates interfered as the heralds of peace between the two armies, binding them both in the bonds of anathema irrevocable if they should dare to fight, and if they did not keep peace until a

meeting of the great officers of the kingdom and the seigneurs elected should have terminated the great trial.

The leading men in both armies had frequent interviews to this end, and while referring the supreme decision to the diet commanded by the Pope, they agreed on a truce.

The sight of the Saxon army, strong in numbers and full of ardour, contributed to these arrangements. A portion of the Bavarians suddenly withdrew after having seen the Saxons manœuvre. The prince, thus abandoned by his soldiers and thwarted by his generals, at least avoided an unequal combat, and retired in safety from the Saxon frontier.

The legates of the Holy See then took their way homewards, loaded with splendid gifts and all triumphant, though they had done nothing.

The Bishop of Padua made all haste to reach Rome before his pious colleague Aldobrandini, in order to plead the cause of Henry, whose faithful submission to the Holy See he protested; but, distrusted as he already was by the Pope, he was contradicted by a monk, a zealous emissary of Rudolph, who denounced Henry's perjuries.

The Pope, who, as we have said already, suspected the Bishop of Padua, considering him convicted of guilty compliance and lying, dismissed him harshly, and sent letters to hasten the return of the faithful Aldobrandini. All his evidence tended to criminate Henry. Gregory VII. then thought it necessary to clear himself before Rudolph and the principal Saxons. He wrote to them that he was grieved at the small success of his

last legation ; but that he took God to witness he had neither exercised personal preference nor lenity in that matter, and he then exhorted them in his usual words to persevere in the way of justice.

Rudolph still remained master of Saxony, but he counted but little on the keeping of the truce, and continued to make preparations for a struggle which he felt was inevitable.

Henry, determined to commence it with more advantages, and to render it more decisive this time, was endeavouring to augment his troops. He had employed the autumn in visiting all parts of Bavaria, had roused the zeal for his cause by all possible means, and made numerous levies ; he then returned without any state to Mayence, where he assembled other recruits from Alsace and Burgundy and other parts, and started thence after Christmas to invade Thuringia. He had never ceased to maintain secret intelligence in this country, and even in Rudolph's palace at Goslar, and had managed by messages and promises, to detach, underhand, many considerable chiefs from his enemy's cause.

Counting on this support, Henry advanced full of confidence ; he assured his followers that this time Saxony, disheartened, would open a road before them; that the Saxon seigneurs would themselves put his enemy Rudolph into his hands; and that, victorious, without striking a blow, he should only have to reign in common with his friends over the subjugated country.

Rudolph, meantime, had held a royal banquet at the feast of Christmas in Goslar, and had there laid down his plan of defence. Many of the Saxon seigneurs were

still faithful to him, the bishops who had taken refuge in Saxony were ardent in his cause, and his troops numerous. Still he was in no haste to fight, and when his scouts brought information of the approach of Henry's army, he affected to retire before it, so as to induce it to follow his steps into the heart of the country.

Henry's men, and particularly the Bohemians, who formed one of the wings of his army, were induced to advance without difficulty, by the allurement of pursuit and pillage, and they spared nothing in their way. The former Bishop of Mayence, Siegfried, whose domains in Thuringia were in peril, in concert with the other prelates, fulminated new anathemas against Henry, who continued to advance, spreading flame and rapine on his path. The severity of winter alone appeared to be any obstacle in his march. Many of the Saxon chiefs, one of whom bore the name of Witiking, openly went over to him; another great seigneur, the Margrave Ecbert, had withdrawn from the Saxon camp and determined to remain neuter.

Rudolph halted at last near Fladeckeim, at the extremity of Thuringia, and, covered by the steep bank of a deep and rapid torrent, he waited for the enemy in an advantageous position. But Henry, having made a *détour* and crossed the torrent higher up, suddenly appeared on the flank of the Saxon army.

Rudolph, thus surprised, promptly wheeled his troops, and making his rear-guard his front of battle, he sustained Henry's first attack with vigour. In this first shock, however, the royal spear that was borne before Rudolph was carried off by Wratislas, the leader of the Bohemians. But the Duke Otho, who in the original

order of battle commanded the Saxon rear-guard, having come to the support of Rudolph's broken ranks, the Saxons gained the victory, after a fight that lasted nine hours, from morning to night, and in the blast of a hurricane that swept over both armies.

The camp of Henry was abandoned, his Alsatian and Bavarian troops took to flight, and he himself, carried along in the rout, escaped almost alone through a forest. The Bohemians, who formed the most numerous corps of his army, and who had asked for the war with Saxony as their pay, kept their ground better; three thousand of their number, and the Governor of Prague, one of their chiefs, were killed. The remainder and some others of Henry's troops rallied, however, at the fortress of Wadbert, four leagues from the field of battle; but they had no sooner halted to take rest, than they were assailed by the garrison of the fortress, which dispersed them once more, and took much booty, consisting of horses and arms, and golden vessels and precious stuffs, which the bishops of Henry's party carried about as part of their baggage.

The success of Rudolph was great, but it did not put an end to the war. Henry, through the thousand dangers and sufferings of flight, had repassed the frontier of Thuringia, and his presence in Germany preserved him an empire and procured him an army.

He came almost alone, exhausted by cold and fatigue, and burning with shame, to Ratisbon, where the wreck of his unfortunate expedition soon gathered round him.

Rudolph, master of the field, where the dead lay thick on the snow-covered earth, turned his attention to recruiting his army by a little rest; the season was too

advanced for him to carry on the war with vigour, and to expose his exhausted troops to encounter beyond the frontiers of Saxony. The adroitness of Henry had, moreover, provided Rudolph with more than one cause of embarrassment after his victory. Many of the great nobles, the Duke Otho, and the Count Hermann held but doubtful allegiance; they had seemed on the point of yielding to Henry's solicitations, and of going over to him with their vassals; his defeat left them jealous of Rudolph and indignant at his triumph. Other enmities declared themselves by open rebellion against that prince. One of the greatest of the Saxon seigneurs, the Margrave Ecbert, incited by his mother-in-law, the Countess Adela, took up arms, gained possession of many fortified castles, and began a civil war in Saxony, in the midst of the great conflicts of that province with the rest of the empire. On receiving intelligence of this, Rudolph, who had hastened from Fladeckeim to Goslar, lost not a moment. He fought, pursued and besieged the revolters, separated as far as he could the vassals from their leaders, took possession of the fiefs of the latter, and divided them among his partisans. By this activity Rudolph, in the course of a few weeks, put down those partial rebellions, and at the end of March 1080 he had re-entered Goslar victorious, with his power increased.

Rudolph had sent the news of the victory of Fladeckeim to Rome by a messenger extraordinary.

Henry, finding his own defeat aggravated by that of the revolted seigneurs against Rudolph, determined also to have recourse to Rome. He had already seduced by golden arguments the very legate of Gregory VII.,

the Bishop of Padua, and he easily induced him, by further presents, to undertake the journey to Italy to plead his cause; but on the way the legate, who had been made too rich, was assassinated by one of his suite. Henry then chose among his faithful followers two new envoys, the Bishops of Bremen and Bamberg, whom he supplied, says a pious chronicler, with large sums of money, to procure votes at Rome.

Through all the toilsome anxiety in which the conflicts of Germany involved Gregory VII., his apostolic spirit ever watched without interruption over the fate of the churches in all the Northern countries. This religious intercourse of Italy with the savage nations of Hungary, Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, is one of the fairest spectacles furnished by the middle ages. If Rome despatched warlike legates to excite the nations against Henry, and to meddle with the troubles of Saxony, she sent still further emissaries of peace and humanity. Gregory VII. also took pains to bring young foreigners to Rome in order to instruct them in learning and in the Roman faith, and then to send them as native apostles into the midst of their rude countrymen.

'We would have you to know,' wrote he to Olaüs, King of Norway, 'our desire to send to you, if possible, some of our faithful and learned brethren to instruct you in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, in order that, being trained in the evangelic and apostolic doctrine, and settled upon a solid foundation, which is Jesus Christ himself, you may increase in godly virtue and bring forth fruit worthy of eternal reward. But as it is very difficult for us to do this, on account of the great distance and the diversity of languages, we pray you,

as we have prayed the King of Denmark, to send to our apostolic court some young nobles of your country, so that, being carefully instructed in divine knowledge under the protection of the apostles Peter and Paul, they may one day carry back the counsel of the See Apostolic, and come among you, not as strangers but as brethren, and preach Christianity to you, not as foreigners and ignorant, but as men speaking your own tongue and learned in science, and an example of good manners.'

This same thought fills his mind when writing to Canute, King of Denmark, whose kingdom, he says, is placed in the farthest parts of the earth. 'We greatly desire,' he says, 'to receive from you some learned man, that he may explain to us the manners and habits of your nation, and who, being taught of us, may carry back to you the lessons and instructions of the Apostolic See.'

While observing with what care Gregory sought to extend the spiritual authority of Rome over these distant lands, we here and there meet indications of wondrous talent.

The difficult question of the celebrating of the divine office in the vulgar tongue, which was so violently discussed in the sixteenth century, had already appeared in the time of Gregory VII., and he established a rule on this point, which was not known in the early days of Christianity, and which the Roman Church is obliged to maintain to the best of her power. Wratislas, Duke of Bohemia, had sent letters to ask permission to have the mass said in the Slave language. Gregory VII., in his reply, reproaches him in the first place with holding

intercourse with excommunicated persons, and then adds, 'As to the request you have addressed to us, to permit the divine office to be celebrated among you in the Slavonic tongue, we would have you to know we can in no wise accord such permission. For, in our frequent meditations on this subject, it has appeared to us that God has had some motive for permitting obscure passages in the Holy Scriptures, lest, being accessible to all, they should be exposed to contempt, or that, being falsely interpreted by the weak, they may thereby be led into error.'

This refusal is all the more remarkable, because Gregory was well acquainted with the practice of the primitive times, when the neophytes of every nation celebrated the mysteries of the new faith in their own language. But it seemed to him that the Church should perfect her discipline, and become more vigilant and more severe. 'There is no reason to be found,' wrote he to Wratislas, 'in the example of some holy men, who have borne with patience the researches which the people made in good faith. The Primitive Church passed over many things which, in later times, when Christianity was firmly established, in the adult age of religion, were, after a careful enquiry, corrected by the Holy Fathers.'

The power of the pontiff was supported by the zeal of the bishops, who, in their endeavours to conquer the ferocity of the Northern chiefs, constantly appealed to the mysterious authority of Saint Peter and of the great Bishop of Rome. But this resource did not serve them at all times. At the end of the year 1079 Gregory VII. received information that in Poland the

Bishop of Cracow had been assassinated at the foot of the altar by the order of the. King Boleslas, whom he had offended by his reprimands. On this intelligence the Pope, who was deliberating with the bishops whom he always had about him, shed tears. He then wrote to the Archbishop of Gnêsnia and to all the bishops of Poland to abstain from the celebration of the divine office. He interdicted the use of all the churches, declared Boleslas excommunicated and dethroned; absolved from their oaths of fidelity all his barons and all his vassals, and excluded to the fourth generation the children of the soldiery who had aided the king in the commission of his crime, from filling any office in the Church.

The anathemas pronounced by Rome did not fail in their effect. They served as a pretext for all those who were desirous of revolting against Boleslas. Attacked and pursued, as we are told, and eaten by dogs in his flight, the end of this miserable man seemed an example of the vengeance of God and of the power of the pontiff.

Among the Northern princes, one only, firmly settled on the throne of a conquered country, William the Bastard, resisted the injunctions of the pontiff, without, however, incurring his anathemas. The attention is arrested by the contemplation of the mutual caution exercised by Gregory VII. and William. It would appear as though those two mighty spirits feared to try their strength against each other, and to clash in the shock. In the conquest that William had commenced under the protection of an oriflamme sent from Rome, he had greatly profited by the complaisance of the

Pope to depose the Saxon bishops and abbots, and to fill their places with Normans, and at their head the celebrated Lanfranc, whom he raised to the See of Canterbury.

But when this religious revolution had placed in the hands of the conquerors all the riches and all the possessions of the ancient Saxon Church, William no longer did anything to conciliate the Pope's affection. Not only did he neglect to send to Rome the annual tribute which England had long paid under the name of Peter's Pence, but, in his jealous care of his own power, he put a stop to the frequent journeys the bishops of his kingdom made to Italy to attend the councils assembled by the Pope.

Gregory VII. was bitterly grieved to hear of this prohibition, just at the moment when the German schism ranged so many prelates against him; and, towards the end of the year 1079, he sent to the Conqueror a legate, charged with ample instructions.

'None,' said he, in a letter to this legate, 'among the pagan kings, had dared to do what the King William had not blushed to do, by forbidding the bishops and archbishops to visit the shrine of the apostles. We will that you warn him, from us, not to refuse to the Roman Church the homage he would be wroth to find refused to him by his own subjects. Let him, while rendering us due thanks, labour to obtain the grace of Saint Peter. Filled with the remembrance of our ancient friendship for William, and imitating, as far as we can, the apostolic forbearance, we have up to this time pardoned his fault; but if he does not put an end to this abuse, and to others that thou knowest of, tell him

he will draw down upon himself the anger of Saint Peter.'

To this indirect menace Gregory VII. added the following instruction, by which he no doubt hoped to compromise the absolute prohibition which William had imposed on the bishops in his kingdom: 'Invite, on the part of blessed Peter,' wrote he to his legate, 'the English and Roman bishops to come, at least two for each diocese metropolitan, to the Roman synod, which we intend to hold at Easter. If it should so happen that they make any objection, and say that they cannot arrive in time, let them be careful to present themselves after Easter.'

Gregory VII. had further charged his legate with instructions and reprimands for the celebrated Lanfranc, of whose zeal apostolic he found no traces in William's conduct towards the Roman Church. Lanfranc, whatever was his attachment to the chief and to the authority of the Church, was still more subject to William, his countryman, his patron, and his king; and hence, doubtless, the severe tone of the language the pontiff addresses to him:

'Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, health and benediction apostolic.

'From the day when, notwithstanding our unworthiness, we received the sacred yoke of the supreme pontificate, thy charity has not thought of coming to see us; and we are all the more surprised at this, seeing that we had at least a right to expect so much from your affection; and, if the apostolic mansuetude and the ancient bond of friendship had not till this day

restrained us, thou wouldst long ago have learned with what impatience we have borne such neglect.

'But, as we are well persuaded, it is the fear of the king—of that king whom we have distinguished by a special predilection among sovereigns—or, rather, it is by thy own fault that we have been so long deprived of thy visit. As to thee, certainly if thou hadst retained a remembrance of our ancient friendship, or if the filial affection due to the Roman Church had still been preserved in thy soul, no fear of any power terrestrial, no idolatrous attachment to any person whomsoever, would have detained thee from our presence.

'As to that person, if any new fit of arrogance now moves him against the See Apostolic, or if any passion or caprice animates him against us, we shall be all the more grieved, inasmuch as he will thereby render himself unworthy of our affection. Thy piety can shield him from this misfortune if, by careful indications and assiduous counsels, thou wilt caution him not to undertake against the Roman Church, the mother of us all, any unjust proceeding—anything contrary to the religious authority—and not for the future to dissuade either thy devotion nor any other from visiting the See Apostolic.

'It is becoming, then, that thy fraternity now repair thy negligence, and that, taking thy way as soon as possible to the apostolic dwelling, thou appear in our presence, as we desire, and as we have often requested, in order that we may confer personally on this point and on others, so that the interest of the Church may, by God's grace, be promoted by our interview.

'Given at Rome, the 8th of the calends of April, second indiction.'

Lanfranc's reply to this letter, the combined firmness and deference of his language, indicate at the same time the genius of the pontiff and bishop, and the ascendency of William, and the haughtiness, lay and civil, which his influence infused into all about him:

'To the reverend and supreme Pastor of the Holy Church, the very humble and unworthy Bishop Lanfranc, homage and submission.

'I have read with suitable humility the letter of your Excellence, brought by Hubert, sub-deacon of your sacred palace, and almost entirely full of the reproaches you make to me with paternal gentleness, pointing out that, since my elevation to the episcopate, I have been less affectionate towards the Roman Church and yourself, though neither I nor anyone else can doubt that I have reached that honour by the authority of the Apostolic See.

'Surely, venerable father, I cannot and will not say your words are calumnious, but my conscience witnesses that neither absence, nor time, nor distance, nor eminent honours, have power to hinder me from being submissive to your counsels in the spirit of the canons; and if, by God's grace, I should be able one day to talk with you, I should prove to you, both by word and deed, that my love towards you has increased, and that, if I may be permitted so to say, you have somewhat departed from your former affection. In concert with your legate, and to the best of my power, I have presented and supported your request, but I could not get it granted. For the rest, you shall know, both by word of mouth and by letter, why the king has not in all things consented to your wishes.'

We trace in this reply all the considerations of episcopal obedience for the head of the Church, and at the same time the care of Lanfranc to show forth his fidelity to the king, his seigneur.

The reply of William himself to the Pope was more precise and more unceremonious. All its phrases are stamped with masculine vigour, and display the conqueror as believing he depended on God alone—as willing to give money to Rome, but not to yield her obedience.

'To the very excellent Pastor of the Holy Church, William, by the grace of God, King of England and Duke of Normandy, health and friendship.

'Hubert, thy legate, who has come to me from thee, most Holy Father, has given me advice to render homage to thee and thy successors, and to bethink myself of the money which my predecessors were in the habit of sending to Rome. I admit one of these points; I do not admit the other. I have not taken, nor will I take, an oath of allegiance, because I have not promised to do so, and because I nowhere find that my predecessors have done such thing in regard of yours. As to the money, it has been levied negligently during the last three years, while I have been in Gaul. Now that, by divine mercy, I have returned to my kingdom, I send thee by the said Hubert such sums as have already been collected; what remains due shall be transmitted, as occasion offers, by the legates of our liegeman, Archbishop Lanfranc. Pray for us, and for the stability of our reign, because we have loved your predecessors, and desire to love you sincerely and before all persons, and to listen to you with obedience.'

The severe steadfastness of this letter, and this partial sending of the tribute—this refusal of obedience—did not satisfy Gregory's pride. He thus angrily speaks of it in writing to his legate: 'Thou hast had,' says he, 'ample opportunity of judging for thyself how little I value money given without homage and obedience.' However that may have been, the pontiff of Rome could take no step in opposition to the powerful bastard seated on the throne of England; he was fully occupied with the uncertain struggle which Henry and Rudolph continued to wage in Germany.

Up to this time Gregory VII. had persisted in his apparent moderation and in his reiterated orders for the convocation of a council. He wrote to Rudolph: 'God alone knows the heavy grief that weighs on my heart, and the groans that escape from me when I think of the Teutonic kingdom, the most illustrious of all the kingdoms of the earth, desolated and ruined by fire and sword. Many messages that have been sent to me from Henry, sometimes by his envoys, sometimes by his relatives and other princes who are allied to him, promising either entire obedience or soliciting aid by every stratagem, are used to incline me to their party. But if the Roman gravity on one side, and the apostolic mansuetude on the other, make it my duty to walk in the broad way of justice, I must do all that is needful to discern, with the help of the Holy Spirit, between true justice and false, between perfect obedience and feigned submission, and to bring them to good. But as to these matters and others, my legates, if they reach you safely, will explain better by word of mouth than does the letter.'

Very soon he sent this further message to stir up Rudolph.

'Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to Rudolph and all those who inhabit with him the kingdom of the Saxons, whether bishops, dukes, counts, great or small, absolution of all sins and benediction apostolic.

'Truth itself has declared that the kingdom belongs to those who suffer persecution for justice's sake, and the apostle says that none can be crowned if he has not fought for the truth. Be careful, then, my sons, not to faint in this war which has so long wearied you. Do not, believing the lies of some deceivers, doubt our faithful support, but, in defence of the truth of the Church and your noble liberty, press forward more and more in a task which will soon be over, and, magnifying yourselves against your enemies, haste to advance your forces as a very wall before Israel. You will precisely learn from our letters and from our legates, if they have not been taken prisoners, what has been decided in two meetings of our synod in regard to Rudolph and Henry; and if there is anything else, you will learn it hereafter by the Bishops of Metz and of Passaw and the Abbot of Augsburg, who will remain with us to hear the conclusion. We would, however, not leave you in ignorance that, with all due ardour, by our assiduous prayers and by the authority of our ministry, we endeavour to discover your perils and to avert them.'

Rudolph's victory and consequent embassy, evidently hastened the conclusion spoken of in this letter. The annual council of Rome had met in the beginning of March 1080. Gregory VII., in the first place,

renewed with heavier penalties the decrees against all lay investiture of Church dignities. He then once more excommunicated and deposed Thédald, Bishop of Milan; Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna; and that bold negotiator Roland, whose zeal the emperor had rewarded by the bishopric of Treviso. Finally, he fulminated new anathemas against all Normans who should attack the territories of Saint Peter; that is to say, the part of the March of Firmiano that had not been invaded, the church of Spoleto, the Campagna of Rome, the coast of Ostia, Sabinium and the countship of Tibur, the monastery of Monte Cassino and its dependencies. A noticeable clause was added to the excommunication.

'If any Norman,' so it ran, 'shall have just cause of complaint against the inhabitants of this country, let him ask justice of us or of our officers and governors; and if it be refused to him, we authorise him to levy upon the said lands compensation for his injury, not with excess, as is the manner of brigands, but as becomes a Christian anxious to recover his own, rather than to take the goods of others, fearing to lose the grace of God, and to incur the malediction of Saint Peter.'

In this amelioration of the anathema, and in this compromise offered beforehand with the future brigandage of the Normans, do we not perceive the necessity and the preliminaries of the alliance which Gregory VII., prudent in the height of his ardour, projected?

He was, in fact, about to renounce all compromise in another direction, and to cast away the sheath of the pontifical sword by fulminating against Henry the

sentence that had been for three years suspended. This prince's new embassy came too late; neither his arguments nor his presents were received. The ambassadors of Rudolph were introduced to the council, and one of them pronounced the following speech:

'We, the delegates of our seigneur, King Rudolph, and of his princes, complain before God and Saint Peter, and to your paternity and all this holy council, in that Henry, rejected from the kingdom by your authority apostolic, has invaded, against your orders, this same kingdom, and has wasted it with fire and sword and pillage, has impiously driven the bishops and archbishops from their sees, and distributed their dignities as fiefs. By his tyranny Werner, of holy memory Bishop of Magdeburg, has perished; Adalbert, Bishop of Worms, is even now detained captive in defiance of the orders of the See Apostolic. Many thousands of men have been slain by his party, many churches have been pillaged, destroyed, or burnt; as to the injuries Henry has inflicted on our princes, to punish them for not obeying him as king in contempt of the orders of the Holy See, it is impossible to number them. And the meeting that you, most Holy Father, had prescribed in the pursuit of truth, and for the restoration of peace, was prevented by the fault of Henry and his adherents only. Wherefore we exhort your clemency to do justice to us and to the Holy Church of God, and on the sacrilegious violator of our churches.'

No voice was raised in the council in Henry's defence, none to ask for further delay in his favour; they all demanded that he should be deprived of the title of

king, and be laid under the anathema. Gregory seemed to place himself under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; and, violently moved, and with sobs, in the midst of the breathless assembly, he at last pronounced these words:

'Blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, and thou, blessed Paul, teacher of the nations, deign and entreat to hear me and to grant my prayer. Do ye, the disciples and lovers of truth, give me the strength to speak the truth, casting away all subterfuge, which is hateful to you, so that my brethren may trust in me, well knowing that, strong in your strength and that of the Lord and his mother, Mary, ever virgin, I resist the wicked and succour your faithful servants. Ye know that I did not of my own wish take holy orders; that not by my own desire I followed the Lord Pope Gregory beyond the mountains; and that, more unwillingly still, I came back with my Lord Pope Leo to your special Church, where I have served you as well as I could; that afterwards, and quite against my desire, with grief and sighs, I was, though unworthy, placed on your throne. I say this because it was not I sought you, but because it was ye who chose me, and laid on me the heavy burden of your Church. As ye have ordered me to ascend a high mountain, and to tell the people of God their crimes, and to the children of the Church their sins, the children of the devil have risen up against me, even to the shedding of blood; for the kings of the earth, the princes, secular and ecclesiastical, courtiers and clowns, are banded together against the Lord and against us His anointed, saying, "Let us break their bonds and cast off their yoke," and to destroy me, by

death or by exile, they have had many devices against me. Henry, especially, who is called king, the son of the Emperor Henry, has revolted against thy Church, and has endeavoured, in concert with many bishops, Ultramontane and Italian, to subjugate it by my overthrow. Your authority has resisted his pride, and our power has destroyed it. Confounded and humbled, he came to me in Lombardy, asking absolution. Seeing him so humble, and after having received from him many promises that he would amend his life, I received him to communion only, without restoring him to the throne, from which I had deposed him in the Council of Rome, and without obliging those who had taken or should take oaths of allegiance to him, to keep with him a faith from which I had absolved them in that same synod.

'I reserved these things in order that I might, seeing that Henry had promised by oath and by the suretyship of two bishops, do justice and restore peace between him and the Ultramontane prelates who resisted him by your orders. But the Ultramontane prelates and princes, finding he did not keep his promise to me, and, as despairing of him, without my advice, as ye are my witnesses, chose the Duke Rodolph for their king. This King Rudolph immediately sent a message to inform me that he had been constrained to accept the government of the kingdom; but that, for the rest, he was ready to obey me in all things; and has ever held the same language, offering as pledges of his word his own son and the son of his liegeman Berthold, as hostages.

'Henry, meantime, entreated me to aid him against

the said Rudolph. I replied to him that I would willingly, after having heard the arguments of both parties, and thus ascertained on which side justice lay. But he, thinking he could conquer Rudolph in his own strength, disdained my answer. But when he found he could not accomplish his desire, two of his partisans, the Bishop of Verdun and the Bishop of Osnabruck, came to Rome to entreat me in his name before the council to do him justice—Rudolph's envoys also asking the same thing. Then, by the inspiration of God, I in that same council decreed that a conference should be held in the country of the Ultramontanes, either to settle terms of peace, or to discover to which of the two parties justice leaned; for as you can witness, fathers and seigneurs, I would give my help to the side of right only, and as I considered it was the party who had the least right that would reject a conference, I excommunicated and pronounced anathema on all persons, whether kings, dukes, or any other, who by any stratagem should hinder the holding of such conference. Now the said Henry, not fearing the danger of disobedience, which is as the crime of idolatry, has, by opposing the meeting of this conference, exposed himself to excommunication and bound himself with the bond of anathema, has delivered to death great numbers of Christians, has pillaged the churches and laid waste nearly the whole kingdom of Germany.

'For those causes, trusting to the judgment and mercy of God, and His most holy and ever Virgin Mother, I place under excommunication, and I bind with the bond of anathema, Henry, who is called king, and all his abettors, in the name of God Almighty and

in yours, depriving him anew of the kingdom of Germany and Italy, and taking from him all power and royal dignity. I forbid any Christian to obey him as his king, and I absolve from their allegiance all those who have taken or may take oath of fidelity to him; so that this Henry and his abettors may have no strength in battle, and may gain no victory as long as he lives.

'As to Rudolph, whom the Germans have elected for their king, I grant to him and concede to him, in your name, to govern and defend the kingdom of Germany under you; and I give to all his faithful adherents the absolution of all their sins and your benediction in this world and the world to come. For if Henry, on account of his pride, disobedience, and falsehood, is justly deposed from the royal dignity, so Rudolph, by his humility, sincerity, and submission, receives the rank and title of king.

'Now, then, I pray you, most holy fathers, let the whole world understand and know that if you have power to loose and to bind in heaven, you have power upon earth to take from or to give to each, according to his merits, empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, countships, and all other possessions; for you have often taken patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, and bishoprics from the perverse and unworthy, to bestow them on holy men. If you judge spiritual things, how much the more power have you over things secular? And if you judge the angels, who are the masters of haughty princes, how much the more shall you judge the princes, who are their slaves? Let the kings and great men of the earth know this day how great are you, and how far your power extends. Let

them fear to contemn the commands of your Church; and do you accomplish speedily judgment on Henry, so that in the eyes of all men he may be seen to fall not by chance, but by your power. May his confusion turn to repentance, so that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord!

'Given at Rome, the nones[1] of March, third indiction.'

This solemn anathema, which carries out the celebrated declaration of Gregory VII. as to the rights of the papacy, displays all the scope of the rights claimed. They aim at nothing less than an absolute theocracy, disposing of all political dignities out of religious considerations only, and not only taking them from the excommunicated, but bestowing them on whom it would. This was an excess which human reason could not tolerate, and which no public prejudice, no social condition, could either necessitate or justify. It is, in fact clear, that if the right of canonically deposing from the throne, or any other civil dignity, gave the faculty of naming a successor to the same power, all impartiality would cease to exist. The temptation would be strong even for the most virtuous and wisest.

After this last excommunication, and only then, Gregory gave to Rudolph's envoys, for their master, an imperial crown, which bore this famous inscription:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus didema Rudolpho.

Thus, having held the balance in uncertainty, and denied his assistance in Rudolph's election, Gregory VII.,

[1] March 7, 1080.

seeing it confirmed by success, claimed credit of it for himself and the Church.

Gregory VII. closed the council after having pronounced this sentence, which, published in Rome, sent to all the bishops, and transmitted from convent to convent, would necessarily reanimate the enmity against Henry, and powerfully serve Rudolph's arms. Until that time the Pope's hesitation had merely been a calculation of the chances of war; he was willing to leave the two rivals time to contend with each other in their professions of obedience. But sure now of the impenitence and the defeat of Henry, he determined to have done with him by crowning his opponent.

BOOK VIII.

1080.

After this decisive stroke, we see Gregory VII. redoubling his caution towards the King of England, from whose haughty reply and partial tribute, unaccompanied by homage, he had received so much annoyance. When he again sent deputies to this prince, he entrusted to them a flattering letter:

'Thou knowest, as I believe, very excellent son, with what sincere affection I always loved thee before reaching the pontifical supremacy, what efficacious zeal I have always displayed for thy interests, what efforts I made for thy elevation to the royal dignity. On that very account I bore almost affronts from many of my brethren, who secretly murmured that I should lend my ministry to favour such wholesale homicide. But God saw in the depths of my conscience with what upright intentions I did this, hoping, by his grace and a well-founded confidence in thy virtue, that the higher thou wert raised the more thou wouldst show thyself zealous for God and His Church, as indeed we find it at this present, thanks be to God. Therefore, as to a dear son and liegeman of Saint Peter and ourselves, I am going to lay before thee, as I should in a friendly interview, and in a few words, my plans, and that which it becomes necessary to do in consequence.

'Since that by the will of Him who raises up the lowly, the Church, our Holy Mother, placed me, notwithstanding my resistance, in the See Apostolic; from that time, I say, constrained by the necessity my duty imposes of raising my voice continually, I have not been able to shut my eyes to the affliction she suffers from her disobedient children. I lived in love and in fear: in love, because of Saint Peter, who from my childhood had nourished me in his house; in fear, because of the divine menace, "Cursed is the man that turns away the edge of the sword from blood;" that is to say, that does not utilise learning to subjugate the flesh. At this present, then, well-beloved son, whom I at all times embrace in Christ—at this present, that thou seest the Church, thy mother, beset with so many tribulations, and in imminent need of succour—I hope to find thee such as I should desire; and for thy honour and salvation I counsel thee in sincere charity to offer her entire obedience. And as by God's help thou hast desired to become the jewel among princes, so do thou become the model of justice and submission, so that thou mayest hereafter rule over as many kings as thou hast saved by the example of thy obedience. And if any shall refuse to be saved, thy reward shall be none the less. This is not all. Victory, and honour, and fame, and majesty shall be given by God to thy successors even in this world. Ask thyself, If thou hadst made a poor serf a powerful king, thou wouldst expect to be honoured by him; and even so when, from being a miserable slave of sin—for such we all are by nature—God has made thee such a great king, thou art bound to render honour to the giver of thy glory, thy

protector and all-powerful ally, Jesus Christ. Oh! may the example of perverse princes not turn thee aside; the many are wicked, the virtuous few in number. Brave soldiers win glory by standing fast in the general rout. The more eagerly the powerful of this world rush forward to the abyss, the more art thou called on—thou who hast been more favoured by God than they—to magnify thyself by humility, to raise thyself by obedience; as it is written, "Let him that is evil be evil still, but let the just advance in the way of justice."'

To this letter, which takes the form of a general exhortation, Gregory only added a word at the end touching the Bishop of Le Mans and an abbot of the same place, whom he had absolved and reinstated at William's request; but he had given many secret instructions to the king's envoys.

A short time afterwards he wrote again to William, to his wife, Queen Matilda, and their son, the ambitious and unruly Robert. To William he spoke of the union between the pontificate and royalty—comparing the first to the sun, the other to the moon, and promising him an increase of power as a reward of his piety. To Matilda he wrote some holy words, asking her, as an only favour, to love virtue and simplicity, and begging her to arm the spirit of her lord with such weapons when God should give her the opportunity. But to Robert he sent grave advice, the severity of which must have delighted William.

'We are happy to have heard by our son, the legate Hubert, that thou art obedient to paternal advice, and hast left dangerous companions. We remind thee and

beg thee ever to remember with what a valiant hand and how gloriously thy father took from the enemy all he possesses. Be careful henceforth, most dear son, not to give way to evil counsels, and so offend thy father and grieve thy mother.' And then, citing the Scriptures, the pontiff charges the prince to obey his parents in all things.

In acting thus, the Roman pontificate assumed that salutary character of a mediatory power and tribunal, in regard of royal households, which would never have inspired any feeling but gratitude, but which it was very difficult to moderate, and which, arising from religious and paternal motives, might at any time become politic or religious. The pontiff, no doubt, at this time, was anxious to please William and to second his domestic authority.

But it was not from this new king, whose presence was still necessary in his unsettled kingdom, that Gregory VII. could expect prompt assistance, if the anathema of Rome proved insufficient against Henry. He was forced to seek succour nearer at hand.

Gregory VII. did not hesitate to make advances to the Normans in Italy. The opportunity was favourable. Robert Guiscard, the imperious chief of so many turbulent warriors, whom he had made seigneur in Calabria, was now the victim of their rebellion. Several of them had joined his nephew, Jordan, prince of Capua; he had been forced to recover by arms his former conquests of Tarentum, Castellaneta, and Bari, and he was daily weakening himself in contests with his old companions. Gregory VII. then caused an offer to be made of his mediation.

The Abbot Didier, whose monastery was in Robert Guiscard's dominions, undertook to make the proposition, and to persuade him to ask for the apostolic mediation. It was well for the Pope, too, to be friends with those Normans, who had held his predecessor, Leo IX., captive, and who had so often pillaged the lands of the Church; and a new danger that arose in the direction of Germany scarcely allowed him to hesitate.

Henry, driven out of Saxony but not pursued, had, since Rudolph's victory, fortified himself in the Rhenish provinces, and still preserved his power at Milan and a formidable party in Lombardy. When he heard of the last anathema and sentence of deposition that had been pronounced against him, on March 7, in the Council of Rome, he knew there was nothing to expect from the often attempted negotiations, and resolved to depose the Pope. Examples were not wanting. Henry's grandfather had, by his authority as emperor or conqueror, deposed more than one pope in Rome; but this time it was from Germany that Henry determined to pronounce sentence on Gregory VII.

He convoked, in the month of April 1080, a council for this grand decision, at Mayence, for the day of Pentecost, but only nineteen bishops presented themselves; and this number being too small even for an illegal assembly, they adjourned, to meet again at Brixena, in the Tyrol, where the vicinity of Northern Italy would secure the attendance of a greater number of bishops of the emperor's party.

This new assembly met on June 25, in presence of Henry and a great number of German and Lombard seigneurs attached to his cause; but there were but

thirty bishops, all enemies of Gregory VII. The smallness of their number engendered a great doubt among them as to their right of deposing a pope who had been eight years in his see. But the will of the prince carried all before it.

The most bitter enemy of the Pope in this assembly was one of his old flatterers, that same Hugh le Blanc who, on the day of Alexander's funeral, had harangued the people in favour of the archdeacon of the Church, and supported with pompous eulogiums the tumultuous and precipitate enthronement of Hildebrand. Employed afterwards in many legations, dissatisfied with the reward of his services, and at last distrusted by Gregory VII., he had deserted him; and coming now, as he said, in the name of the Romans, he brought into the assembly the most envenomed hatred. They then repeated all the old accusations against Gregory, charging him with corruption, fraud, and magic, and they put them together in a sentence which concluded thus:

'Seeing that it is certain that this man has not been chosen of God, but has thrust himself into the see by fraud and by money; that he overthrows the ecclesiastical order; troubles the government of the Holy Empire; devotes to death, body and soul, a Catholic and peaceful king, while he protects a perjured king; that he has sown discord between those who were united, quarrels between men of peace; has divorced husbands from their wives, and shaken the foundations of all that was firmly established among good men; we, by the inspiration of God, being met together and fortified by the representations and letters of nineteen

bishops, who met together at Mayence at the last feast of Pentecost, to judge that Hildebrand, that daring man, that preacher of perjury and murder, he who has questioned the faith of the Catholic Church regarding the body and blood of Jesus Christ, being an old disciple of Berengarius, an encourager of divination and dreams, a necromancer, a man possessed by the devil, and on all these accounts a violator of the true faith; we adjudge him to be canonically deposed and, if he does not, on hearing this sentence, immediately vacate his see, condemnable to all eternity.'

After the reading of this strange document, the assembly proceeded to elect a new pope. It selected one of its members, the natural rival of the Roman pontiff, Guibert, who had long been the enemy of Gregory VII., and the presumed accomplice of Cinci's attempt on him. Henry knelt down and did him honour before all the assembly, and on the proposition of Denis, Bishop of Placenza, received anew the imperial crown from his hands.

During the preliminaries of the Assembly of Brixena, Gregory VII., who no doubt foresaw its result, had neglected nothing that was calculated to hasten his own reconciliation with Robert Guiscard. He had tried to lessen the resentment of the Norman seigneurs who were leagued against their chief, particularly Jordan, Duke of Capua, who had long ago, as we have seen, taken an oath of allegiance to the Roman Church. In order that this service might be fully appreciated by Guiscard, he employed not only the mediation of the Abbot of Monte Cassino; he had another negotiator, not less skilfully chosen, and whose history bears

witness to the influence the Pontiff exercised over the strongest minds. This agent was a French seigneur of high birth, Simon de Crépy, the son of the Count of Vermandois, who had long defended his inheritance by force of arms against Philip, King of France. Having come to Rome, in the year 1075, to gain the Pope's absolution for the blood he had shed, Simon de Crépy had done penance for a year, unarmed and barefoot. The Pope then sent him back to France, placing him under the direction of Die and the Abbot of Cluny, his legates apostolic, by whose assistance he re-entered into possession of his inheritance. But it did not profit him. During his stay in Rome he had consulted the Pope about his father's soul. The advice he received was to exhume the body of the Count from its resting-place in property that had been unlawfully gotten, and to transport it to a convent that had been founded by him. When the grave was opened, the sight of the hideous remains of his father, once such a valiant warrior, filled him with horror and sickened him with the world. Vainly his friends attempted to change his resolution by the temptation of a grand marriage. The Count d'Auvergne had offered him his daughter; he consented to see the lady, and talked to her so piously that she became a nun. William the Conqueror, at whose court Simon de Crépy, who was cousin to Queen Matilda, had passed a portion of his boyhood, sent a messenger to him with orders not to halt on the road a single night; and on the Count's arrival, taking him by the hand, he said, 'I have chosen thee for the husband of my daughter.'

Terrified at such a great temptation, the young man

asked for time to go to Rome to consult the Holy Apostles and the Pope about this union. But on his way through France he made up his mind; he alighted from his horse, dismissed his friends, and became a monk in the monastery of Saint Claude, in the Jura. He laboured with his hands in the forest, praying and fasting rigorously. Very soon the hair shirt became, in his estimation, too soft for him, and with much difficulty he obtained the abbot's permission to wear an iron shirt, a new kind of penance, which inflicted constant wounds on his body.

The monk, thus habited, sometimes left his solitude to go to the courts of princes. At Matilda's entreaty he had gone to Normandy to make peace between William and his son Robert. On his return he received orders from the Pope summoning him to Rome. He refused at first to go; but Gregory VII. persisted, and the monk at last obeyed. The Pope, filled with joy at his arrival, received him with great honours, embraced him, and gave him a message to Guiscard, justly considering that the warrior's heart that beat under that iron vest would, better than any other, secure the sympathy of the Norman chief.

The monk soon returned, bearing promises of armed assistance from Guiscard. We are told that on the road he converted sixty knights to the religious profession. When he had rendered to the Pope an account of his mission, he begged to be allowed to return to his cell; but Gregory refused his request, adding, gravely, 'Thou wert not sent for on account of thy own merits, but by the authority of my master, Peter; thou must, therefore, tarry awhile, to know

what he desires of thee.' The monk passed the whole night in prayer, in the church, and feeling himself stricken with sickness, it appeared to him a summons of death, and the only dismissal God would give him. He accepted willingly, humbly sent to the Holy Father to confess him, received the communion at his hands, and died on the floor of the church, like a sentinel at his post.

His death was lamented by all Rome. The Pope, ill and weighed down by many cares, was not able to be present at his funeral, which was, however, celebrated with great pomp, and the Queen of England afterwards sent rich offerings to the tomb of the penitent knight.

Deprived of this faithful soldier and churchman, but possessed of his and the Abbot Didier's assurance of Guiscard's good faith, the Pope quitted Rome to meet the Norman chief. Before setting out he had in a council, which met at Pentecost, rescinded all the excommunications that had been pronounced against Guiscard. He took with him his liegeman, Jordan, Prince of Capua, and was accompanied by a numerous escort. He thus arrived at Beneventum, a town in the Roman States that had once been taken by the Normans. Guiscard hastened to Salerno to receive him, and, four days after the election of Guibert in the Noric Alps, the solemn interview between the Pontiff and the victorious Guiscard took place at Ceperano, June 29, the feast of St. Peter.

Both were attended by numerous suites, but the Pontiff and the Duke left their troops behind them, and advanced alone to meet each other in the middle of the plain. On one side was seen that Norman of command-

ing stature, whose good sword had won so many battles, and the titles of Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and who, though past the meridian of life, was eager to rival the glory of his compatriot William, King of England, and to devote his declining years to winning the name of Emperor of the East.

On the other side came forward Gregory, robed in his pontificals, small of stature and slightly bowed by age, but with a most majestic bearing. The Duke Robert cast himself at his feet, and kissed them. The Pope, having raised him, made him sit down by him, and they talked long together, in view of all the troops. Gregory, who well knew Guiscard's aspiring nature, omitted no promise, no ambitious incentive. He dazzled his eyes with the glitter of that crown of Germany of which, he said, Saint Peter had just deprived a heretic and perjured emperor, and that he desired to bestow on some faithful vassal of the Church.

Then the Pope, having summoned the priests of his suite, had the book of the Gospels brought, and Robert pronounced an oath similar in almost all points to that which had been taken by the first Norman Duke of Capua.

'I, Robert, by the grace of God and Saint Peter, Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, from this time and for ever will be faithful to the Holy Roman Church and to the Holy See Apostolic, and to thee my seigneur Gregory, Pope universal. I will undertake no enterprise to deprive thee of life, limb, or liberty; I will not reveal to thy prejudice any information thou shalt have given me, with a charge to keep the same secret; I will be thy defender and the defender of the Roman

Church, aiding thee to the best of my power to maintain, keep, and defend the dominions of Saint Peter and his possessions against all others; save the March of Firmiana, Salerno and Amalfi, in respect of which no definite arrangement has yet been made. I will aid thee to uphold with honour and security the Roman papacy; every territory of Saint Peter that thou dost possess or shalt possess hereafter, and as soon as I shall know it to be in thy power, I will abstain from invading and occupying, and even from pillaging, unless by express permission from thyself or thy successors, and with the exception of the countries thou hast conceded to me, or that thy successors may concede hereafter. As to the rent for the territory of Saint Peter which I hold or may hold, I will take care that, as has been agreed, the Holy Roman Church shall duly receive the same year by year. I will deliver up to thee, with their domains, all the churches in my dominions; I will be their defender, and will maintain them in their fidelity to the Roman Church. And if thou or any of thy successors shall be called from this life before me, according as I shall have received advice of the same from the Roman cardinals, clergy, and laity, I will give my help to the election and ordination of a pope for the honour of Saint Peter. I will faithfully observe all the above-named conditions, and will be faithful to thee and to thy successors elected for the honour of Saint Peter, who shall, unless there be fault on my part, confirm me in the investiture I have received from thee.'

Some of the clauses of this oath were, no doubt, obstinately debated. The Pope and the Duke had mutual

need of each other ; but one would abandon none of the pretensions of the Church, the other nothing he had won by the sword. The Pope then contented himself with bestowing on Robert the investiture following:

'I, Gregory, Pope, invest thee, Duke Robert, with the possessions that were given to thee by Nicholas and Alexander, my predecessors of holy memory. As to the lands thou dost unjustly retain, to wit, Salerno, Amalfi, and part of the March of Firmiana, I bear with thee patiently, trusting in God and in thy probity, and that thou wilt comport thyself for the future to the honour of God and Saint Peter, as becomes thee and me.'

By a special form of oath, Robert then promised for himself and his successors to pay every year to Saint Peter, to the Pope or his legates, one hundred and twelve pence in the coin of Pavia, for every pair of oxen in his dominions.

Thus was ended the long quarrel between the Church of Rome and the Normans. Gregory VII. gained an ally against Henry, and Robert had his conquests partially legalised by that Church which he had more than once plundered.

A very short time after this interview, and while Gregory VII. was still in the principality of Benevento, he heard the intelligence of the election at Brixena. Henry, having left to the new pope a body of troops to enable him to enter Italy, and advance, at any rate, as far as Ravenna, had turned his own steps toward Germany, where the struggle against Rudolph demanded his presence. On leaving Brixena he addressed to Gregory VII., and caused to be sent all over Italy, a

letter, whose violence offers a historic character which it is important to notice:

'Henry, king, not by usurpation but by the ordinance of God, to Hildebrand, no pope, but a false monk. Such is the greeting that thou hast merited to thy confusion; thou who hast brought into the whole Church trouble and malediction. For to mention only a few salient facts, not only hast thou not feared to put forth thy hand against the chief men of the Church, archbishops, bishops, and priests, but thou hast trampled on them like slaves, who understand nothing of their master's doings, and by their humiliation thou hast sought to gain the favour of the people. And we have borne these things long, seeking to preserve the honour of the See Apostolic; but thou hast mistaken our humility for fear, and hast therefore dared to raise thyself up against the royal authority given by God to us, and thou hast threatened to deprive us of it. Those are the steps by which thou hast advanced to fame: With that hypocrisy which the religious profession detests, thou hast gained money, with the money partisans, by thy partisans soldiers, by soldiers the chair of peace, and behold thou hast driven peace from that holy abode, by exciting the faithful against the prelates, and teaching the people, thou unworthy pontiff without vocation, to despise our bishops called of God, and by transferring to the laity power over priests, so that they depose and sentence those who had received from the hand of God, in episcopal imposition, the right to instruct them. For myself, raised to kingship, and all unworthy as I am, placed among the number of the Lord's anointed, thou hast lifted up thy hand against me, and yet the

traditions of the holy fathers teaches that I can be judged by God only, that I can be deposed for no crime, unless for having left the faith, which God forbid! The prudence of the saints did not arrogate to itself the right of judging even Julian the Apostate, leaving that in the hands of God alone. The true pope, blessed Peter, says, "Fear God and honour the king;" but thou, having no fear of God, dost outrage me, who am set up by God.

'I, Henry, by the grace of God king, and all my bishops, cry unto thee aloud, "Come down, come down!"'

At the same time he wrote to the Romans: 'Rise up against him, you who are our lieges, and let him who is most faithful to us, be the first to condemn him. We do not ask you to shed his blood, for, after his condemnation, his life would be more dreadful to bear than death. But force him, if he should resist, to quit the See Apostolic, and receive, with the consent of all the bishops and your own, one elected by us, who is willing and able to heal the wounds which the other has inflicted on the Church.

We see from this letter, that Henry had some hesitation in proclaiming the pope he had made, and endeavoured to conciliate the votes of the Romans. Gregory VII., on the contrary, hastened to announce the election of Brixena, and the setting up a rival against himself. In a letter, dated from Benevento, July 21, 1080, he says to the Bishops of Apulia and Calabria: 'Your fraternity is not, as we suppose, ignorant that many disciples of Satan, who in divers countries are falsely counted as bishops, inflamed with diabolical pride, have endeavoured to confound the

Romish Church; but, by the help of Almighty God and the authority of Saint Peter, their ungodly presumption has turned to their shame, and to the glory and exaltation of the Apostolic See; for Henry, the author and main support of this evil project, has learnt to his cost, by great sacrifice of the souls and bodies of many, what power the authority of Peter possesses for the punishment of evil-doers. You know what wrong this same Henry meditated against the Roman Church in the time of Pope Alexander, by means of Cadalous, and into what a depth of disgrace he deserved then to fall with that same Cadalous, and what honours and triumph our republic gained in that struggle. You know also how, three years ago, the Bishops of Lombardy, by order of the same Henry, took up arms against us, and how, by the protection of blessed Peter, we escaped unwounded and unhurt, and with increase of honour to ourselves and our faithful. But, notwithstanding, these men, who have grown bold in courts, and who by their folly heap up for themselves treasures of wrath, while humiliation would best become them, have followed the example of their father, the devil, who has said, "I will exalt myself, and be like unto the Most High." They have resolved to renew their former plots against the Lord of the Church Universal, and to set up as their Antichrist and heresiarch a sacrilegious man, perjured towards the Roman Church, and known throughout the Roman world for his most infamous crimes—Guibert, the robber of the holy Church of Ravenna. In that Council of Satan was assembled those whose life is scandalous, and whose ordination heretical, on account of their heinous sins. It is despair that has

driven them to this folly; because neither by entreaties, nor offers of homage, nor presents, could they hope to obtain from us the pardon of their crimes without submitting them to our ecclesiastical judgment and censure, tempered by mercy, in conformity with our duty. Therefore, as they are sustained by no good motive, but weighed down by the consciousness of their crimes, we despise them in proportion as they exalt themselves. By the mercy of God, and by that power of blessed Peter which miraculously cast down their master Simon when he raised himself up in the air, we trust their fall is not far off.'

At the same time Gregory VII. thus gave vent to his wrath, he was careful to spread the intelligence of the support he had secured against the enemy. In a letter to all the faithful, which he caused to be circulated throughout Germany and Italy, he announced that he had conferred, both personally and through his legates, with the Dukes Robert, Jordan, and the principal Norman chiefs. 'They have,' he exclaimed, 'unanimously promised and sworn to help us against all men in defence of the Holy Church and of our own dignity. The same pledge has been given us by the princes in the neighbourhood of Rome, in Tuscany, and elsewhere. So then, after the 1st of September, when the weather becomes cooler, being determined to wrest the Holy Church of Ravenna from impious hands, and to restore it to its father, blessed Peter, we will go in arms into those parts (we hope it in God's name), and by His help we doubt not we shall deliver them.'

The resolution of Gregory VII. was seconded at this moment by the respect of the people of Italy and the

zeal of the holiest bishops. His party included the leading members of the clergy: the Abbot of Cluny; Anselm, Bishop of Lucca; Didier, Bishop of Monte Cassino; Hugh, Bishop of Lyons; Alfanno, Archbishop of Salerno; Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury: in a word, all who were remarkable for their holiness or their talents, for the ambition of Gregory was that of the Church, and the most virtuous and zealous among the priests were therefore the most interested in his success.

In Henry's party, on the contrary, there were, with but few exceptions, none but mediocre or servile prelates.

Great was the indignation in Italy that a small number of such prelates of foreign birth, and born in an obscure city of the Alps, should have assumed to dispose of Rome and the tiara.

Neither beyond the limits of Italy did the election of the Anti-Pope meet with much honour or favour. Henry had given information of it to all the sovereigns, and Guibert was ready to send his legates to them; but Hugh le Blanc, whom he destined for England, having written to the Archbishop of Canterbury to sound the intentions of the King William, Lanfranc replied by a stern refusal, which sufficiently demonstrates that the consideration and studied forbearance of Gregory VII. had not been thrown away on the haughty conqueror:

'I have received thy message, and I find in it much to displease me. I disapprove of thy censuring the Pope Gregory, and that thou shouldst call him Hildebrand; that thou callest his legates leeches, and that thou exaltest thy new Pope Clement with such high

praises. It is written that we should so praise no man during his lifetime, and that we should not slander our neighbour. The world knows not what men may become, nor what they will one day be in the presence of God. I believe, however, that the glorious Emperor has not undertaken such a great matter without high motives, and that, except by God's help, he could not have achieved such a success.

'I do not give my approbation to thy coming to England without having received the permission of the King of the English. Our island, indeed, has not yet repudiated the former Pope, nor announced its intention of obeying the new one.'

Meantime, Gregory's main support, the ally whom he had gained by so many sacrifices, and whose ambition he had so vigorously seconded, was about to fail him, and to engage in a new and distant enterprise. According to all appearances, the cunning Norman, even at the very time he was treating with the pontiff, was already projecting his departure from Italy, and the Pope's absolution had appeared to him especially desirable to bless the arms which he was hastening to carry to the East, and also to secure the possessions which he was about to leave in Italy without the protection of his dreaded sword. The conferences between the Pope and the Norman prince had hardly closed, when there landed on the coast of Calabria a Greek fugitive, who declared himself the Emperor Michael, escaped from the prisons of the usurper Nicephorus. Guiscard seized this chance with avidity. When, two years before, he had let one of his daughters go to Constantinople to wed the son of the Emperor Michael,

he had expected advantages from that union which he could no longer obtain but by war: he had, therefore, at the same time, to avenge the insult offered to his daughter, and to win for himself a glorious title.

The tragi-comic history of Imperial Greece is so overlaid with falsehood and disguise, so embroiled in obscure intrigues, that it is impossible to say who was this Michael who took refuge with Guiscard. Was he indeed the emperor of that name who had been hurled from his throne and cast into a cloister, and who afterwards became Bishop of Ephesus, and then a fugitive in Italy? or was he only a Greek monk of Crotona, who was playing this part with Guiscard's connivance? However that might be, the fugitive addressed to Guiscard a pathetic letter entreating his assistance. The Norman having read it in an assembly of his barons, they were moved by the wonderful story, received the so-called Michael with all honour, invested him with the imperial robes, and conducted him in state to Salerno and Beneventum. Gregory VII., who had not yet quitted Apulia, was entreated by Guiscard to receive and to give his blessing to an unfortunate prince. The enterprise which the Norman duke was meditating required this support from the pontiff. The ancient renown of Greece still exercised its influence, and the knightly followers of Guiscard, who now possessed rich fiefs and domains in Italy, were dismayed at the prospect of a long sea voyage and a perilous war.

One of the bravest of their number, Raoul Peau-de-Loup, who had been sent to Constantinople by Guiscard, came back with dispiriting intelligence: he declared that the Michael who had sought Guiscard's protection

was an impostor, and that he had himself seen the real emperor shut up in a cloister. Robert, in a rage, drove Raoul from his presence; and, having learnt that a new revolution had taken place in Byzantium, which had substituted Comnenas for Nicephorus, he all the more hurried on his preparations for attacking an empire that so often changed masters.

In order to second his designs, and to attract to his banner the greatest possible number of warriors, Gregory VII. wrote an apostolic letter to the Bishops of Apulia and Calabria. 'We make no doubt,' said he, 'that your prudence is aware that the very glorious Emperor of Constantinople, Michael, has been driven from the imperial throne by injustice and frowardness, and that he has come to Italy to beg the assistance of blessed Peter and our very glorious son the Duke Robert. Wherefore, we who fill, though unworthy, the chair of Saint Peter, being moved with compassion, have thought, and the duke likewise, that we should give ear to the prayer of this prince, and that all the faithful in Saint Peter should come to his help. Wherefore, as the above-named princes believe that of all kinds of succour the most profitable would be the firm allegiance and unanimous constancy of the soldiers in defending this Emperor's cause, we command, by our apostolic authority, that those who shall enter his service beware lest by traitorous hesitation they join the opposite party, but let them loyally give the succour of their arms as Christian honour and the Christian religion require. We also command your charity to induce those who are to cross the sea with the duke to make suitable confession, to keep the faith

with these princes, to set the fear of God before them in all things, and to persevere in well-doing; and then, by our authority, or rather by the wisdom of Saint Peter, absolve ye them from their sins.'

Some phrases of this letter appear to be directed against one of the dangers that Guiscard apprehended—the desertion of his greedy companions, when tempted by the gold of Byzantium and the sight of many of their countrymen who had grown rich in Greece; but we can imagine that from a higher point of view Gregory must have derived satisfaction from the fact of succouring a Cæsar of the East at the very time he had just deposed the German Cæsar, and had to brave his vengeance. After giving this new pledge of friendship to Guiscard, the pontiff returned, in the month of August, from Beneventum to Rome; but at the beginning of autumn he made no attempt to undertake the projected expedition against Ravenna, where Guibert remained under arms. He contented himself with writing two letters—one to the clergy and the faithful of Tuscany, the March of Firmo, and the Exarchate; the other to the inhabitants, lay and clerical, of Ravenna.

In the first, he accused Guibert of having lost the faith, and of having wasted the goods of the Church of Ravenna. 'Can we be surprised,' he says, 'that this man, who counts it a little thing to conspire against the Apostolic See that he has betrayed, and who intends to usurp it, should conduct himself as he does where he already has power?' And then, remembering that Guibert had been three years under anathema irremissible, he announced his willingness to place another prelate at the head of the Church of Ravenna, and

urged the faithful of the three provinces to unite their votes and their endeavours to deliver that holy Church from tyrannical oppression, and to restore to it its former liberty.

The second letter was to be taken to Ravenna by a pontifical legation. In it the Pope poured forth all his wrath.

'The guilty perjured wretch, after having been, with the consent of all the bishops present, sentenced in a council according to his works, has not repented nor amended his ways, but, like his father the devil, he has heaped up for himself treasure of the wrath of God; all that he could think of most evil he has done, all most insolent he has dared. Thinking it was not enough to have partly destroyed your Church, one of the noblest on earth, he has planned the invasion of the Holy Roman See, so that he may drag it to destruction with himself. Then, my brethren, this rotten member having been cut off from the trunk by the sword of anathema, and so cast out that he can no longer be numbered even among the priests, we exhort and beseech you, for the sake of your salvation, to choose, with our brethren the bishops, with the archdeacon, and the other deacons whom we have sent you to that end, some one who may appear to you to be suitable, under God, to the government of your bishopric.'

This letter produced no effect; the legates of the pontiff, as it would appear, either never set out for Ravenna, or never found means of entering the city. Before having recourse to worldly arms, which had been so unfortunate to his predecessor Leo IX., he doubtless meant to wait the issue of the war main-

tained by Rudolph, and of which he foretold the success. 'Make,' wrote he to Germany, 'the sacrifice required by justice, and hope ye in the Lord, we entreat and exhort you; put your confidence in Him and in the might of His arm, for the malice of our enemies draws to its close, and the desperate men who have risen up against the Lord and the Holy Roman Church shall be requited with present ruin.' But before this letter reached Germany the prediction it contained had been totally falsified.

Henry, leaving Guibert to his fortune and to fortify himself in Ravenna, had turned his steps towards the Rhine, there to recruit his troops; and, being fully convinced that he could only deal with Rome after having conquered Rudolph, he, at the beginning of autumn, undertook a new invasion of Saxony. He made his way into the country with a large body of troops, ravaging and burning all that lay in their way. Followed by the Saxon army, which he had at first avoided and deluded by a feigned attack on Goslar, he reached the Elster, called the White, at three leagues from Leipzig. He halted there towards evening, and, partly covered by a marsh formed by the waters of the Elster, he pitched his tents with their backs to the river. The next morning, at daybreak, he ranged his troops in line of battle, to await the Saxons, who soon appeared. Weary with a long and rapid march over difficult roads, on which they had left many of their numbers, they sent him a message; but Henry, conscious of his advantage, made all haste to engage. Many of the Saxon horsemen then, being too fatigued to sit their steeds, put foot to ground, and, all together in

order of battle, slowly advanced towards the enemy. The bishops and priests went before them, singing the psalm:

'O God, who is like unto thee? Keep not thou silence, O God; hold not the peace, and be not still, O God.

'For lo! thine enemies make a tumult; and they that hate thee have lifted up the head.

'They have taken crafty counsels against thy people, and consulted against thy hidden ones.

'They have said, Come, and let us cut them off from being a nation, that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance.

'Do unto them as unto the Midianites; as to Sisera, as to Jabin, at the brook of Kison:

'Which perished at En-dor: they became as dung for the earth.

'Make their nobles like Oreb, and like Zeeb: yea, all their princes as Zebah and Zalmunna.

'O my God, make them like a potter's wheel; as the stubble before the wind.

'As the fire burneth a wood, and as flame setteth the mountains on fire;

'So persecute them with thy tempest, and make them afraid with thy storm.'

The chanting of these sublime words was repeated in chorus by the Saxon army, which thus marched towards the morass that protected Henry's camp.

Both sides remained divided for some time by this obstacle, each hesitating to cross, each cursing the other from its opposite sides. At last, Rudolph having

extended his troops towards one of the extremities of the marsh, Henry faced about, and the battle began. His troops at first assailed the Saxons so vigorously that they put part of their cavalry to flight. Already had the bishops and priests in Henry's army begun to intone the *Te Deum;* but Rabod, one of the king's most valiant officers, then fell; and as his terrified countrymen bore off his body, they shouted aloud, 'Fly! fly!' And in the disorder that ensued, Henry seemed to have neglected the chance of victory.

But a more grievous loss was about to fall on the Saxon army. Rudolph, who in the midst of this alarm was fighting at the head of some picked troops, had pushed his way through the enemy's ranks to the banks of the Elster, where he was encountered and assailed by the young Duke Gottfried. In the encounter of the two generals and their troops, Rudolph's right hand was mutilated, and he received the thrust of a lance under his cuirass. Gottfried had inflicted the wound with the spear that surmounted the imperial banner, and having seen the king fall from his horse into the river, he immediately displayed the standard, whose blood-stained staff could then be seen by all.[1] The friends of Rudolph rushed forward, and, taking him out of the river, bore him through the confusion of the fight, almost dying, to his palace in the city of Mersburg.

Meantime, the Duke Otho, who took the command after Rudolph had been thus carried from the field, maintained the contest with the greatest courage. He

[1] Dux cum aquila præcedens . . . . vexillum quod gestabat per vitalia pectoris immersit, et eo transverberato, dejecit exanimem, denuo signum, licet cruentatem, erigens imperiale.—Villelmus Tyreus, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, in fol. p. 767.

repulsed in their turn those who had put the Saxon cavalry to flight, and pursued them to the river's bank and cast them over.

But, during the partial victory of the Saxons, the rest of the imperial army, under the orders of Henry du Lac, prince palatine of the Rhine, triumphing in the absence of the wounded Rudolph, and masters for the moment of the field of battle, began to chant a *Kyrie eleison.*[1] The Duke Otho, returned from his pursuit, then attacked them, and drove them likewise at the sword's point towards the Elster. This river, whose banks were high and perpendicular, was fatal to a great number of Henry's knights. Those even who, having reached the opposite bank, leaped from their saddles, vainly endeavoured, by thrusting their swords into the earth, to lean over and get their horses out of the stream. Exhausted by such efforts, they abandoned their steeds and threw away their heavy arms. But their flight only cast them into the hands of the Saxon peasants, armed with hatchets and clubs, who took great numbers of noble knights. Some others who escaped from the river, with nothing but their swords, sold these for a morsel of bread.

The Duke Otho completed this great victory by the pillage of Henry's camp. There was found all that that prince and his followers had carried off from Saxony,

[1] The habit of using these religious chants in the Teutonic armies is attested by a passage in an old Frank song celebrating one of their kings' victories:

'Le roi lui-même galopa hardiment;
Il chanta un cantique public,
Tous aussi chantaient en chœur
Kyrie Eleison.'

Schiller, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonic,* vol. ii. p. 236.

the rich tents and richer caskets of the bishops, filled with sacred ornaments and holy vessels, also vases of gold and silver for use in ordinary life, many sheets of gold, much gold coin, magnificent crosiers, arms of all kinds, and what were then most precious luxuries, shirts, and other clothing in abundance. The victory and the booty were great ; King Henry, his lords, and the bishops had fled ; his army was destroyed or dispersed. The Elster, says a chronicler, had doubly avenged the Saxon for all the evil the Onstrod had done them five years before. But this triumph was dimmed for the Saxons : their King Rudolph lay a-dying.

Henry's partisans reported that Rudolph, before he died, had cursed the pontiff whose counsels had armed him against his suzerain, and that he had acknowledged that the loss of his right hand was a punishment for having violated the obligations of vassalage; but according to an account more in conformity with the manners of the time, and with truth in all times, Rudolph died as he had lived. When he heard that his people had gained the victory, 'Now,' said he, 'I suffer joyfully, whether I live or die, whatever is the will of God.' He himself consoled the friends around him, by saying he should recover, and directed his attention to the care of the wounded in his army. The Saxon seigneurs were so touched by his courage and piety that they swore to him, that if God should spare his life, even if he had lost both hands, they would never choose any other king. But Rudolph expired on the third day, having received the Viaticum. He was interred with great pomp, in his royal robes, in the

choir of the cathedral of Mersburg, and a statue of brass, gilt, was placed on his tomb, which bore this inscription :

'Within this tomb lies King Rudolph, slain in defence of his country's laws. He fell, a holy victim, in a battle won by his people. Death was to him life, for he died for the Church. Had he reigned in more peaceful days he would have been without an equal for prudence and wisdom since the time of Charlemagne.'

He had borne the title of king three years and a half; his death was deeply deplored in all the convents of Germany, and by all who were attached to the Holy See; and throughout all Saxony great alms were given for his soul's repose.

While Rudolph was dying, Henry, fugitive but unconquered, had directed his steps to Bohemia, there to re-assemble the wreck of his army and to continue his enterprise. But the day of the Elster had left a feeling of terror in the hearts of his subjects. Those among them who had either ransomed themselves or who were generously set at liberty by some of the Saxon seigneurs, told Henry they would rather go all round the world than ever again set foot on Saxon ground. The Saxons, elated with their success, needed not the presence of Rudolph to keep them united in their hatred of a defeated and excommunicated prince.

Gregory VII. was their far-off but all-powerful king. The speeches of the legates, who celebrated the death of Rudolph as that of another Maccabeus, raised the zeal of the Saxon warriors to fury. The victorious army had, it is true, dispersed in the first instance, according to the custom of the times, each man to his

home; but in the month of December a great assembly of the chief seigneurs and bannerets was held to consult on the state of the kingdom. It was there announced that Henry had met his people, boasting of the death of Rudolph and the submission of Saxony, that he had found no difficulty in raising a new army, and was about to keep the feast of Christmas at Goslar. This intelligence was answered by a universal war-cry. In three days, 30,000 Saxons had assembled and were on their march to intercept Henry. He halted, and dismissing the greater part of his army, he sent the Saxons a message proposing to make his son their king, and offering on that condition to bind himself by oath never more to set foot in Saxony. The Duke Otho, who, on account of his rank and the glory he had acquired in the day of the Elster, had the lead in affairs, replied sneeringly to his embassy: 'I have generally seen that a wicked bull was the father of a wicked calf; and for that reason I will have nothing to do with either the father or the son.' Henry then perceived that it was from Rome he must subjugate Saxony; and he disposed all his forces for entering Italy the following spring. But his friends inspired him with the fear that the Saxons, unconquerable at home and exasperated by the recent invasion, would profit by his absence to invade the empire in their turn. Laying then his endeavours for his son's kingship aside, Henry consented to a conference of some of his principal partisans with the Saxon chiefs, to regulate the conditions either of a truce or a treaty of peace. The proposition being accepted, and time and place agreed on, the parties met near Kaffingen, in

Westphalia, in a forest near the town and bearing its name.

There were, besides the seigneurs and captains, five bishops on each side; on Henry's, the bishops of Cologne, Treves, Bamberg, Spires, and Utrecht; on the Saxons, those of Mayence, Magdeburg, Saltzburg, Paderborn, and Hildesheim. The soldiers and people of both nations were, moreover, free to draw near and listen to this public conference.

When the envoys were seated on the ground in the midst of the leafless forest, exposed to the winter wind, they long remained silent; the partisans of the emperor making it a point of dignity to wait and hear what should be asked of them, the Saxons desiring to mark by their silence that the interview had been accepted, but not sought, by them. At last Gebehard, Archbishop of Saltzburg, one of the proscribed prelates who had taken refuge with the Saxons, began to speak with much gentleness, reminding the bishops and seigneurs of the other party, how many wrongs the Saxons had borne from Henry at the time they obeyed his rule, how many efforts, both public and private, they had made to obtain some diminution of the intolerable sufferings they had endured. He then recapitulated Henry's persecutions of the faith; the priests condemned without being regularly accused or tried, either driven away from their sees or thrown into prison like thieves; the goods of the churches given to the abettors of all this violence. He then spake of Saxony, repeatedly ravaged, for no other reason than because Henry desired to make slaves of the sons of men who were free; and finally calling to witness the bishops and seigneurs of the imperial party,

whom he appealed to as his brethren in Christ and his kindred in the flesh, he entreated them no more to shed Saxon blood.

'Your seigneur Henry,' said he, 'has cruelly inflicted many evils on us; still we are ready to swear fidelity to him on one condition: that you prove to us that priests can do so without degrading their office, and the laity without compromising their faith. If you will hear us, we will prove to you, on the contrary, by reasons manifest, taken from Holy Scripture, that we cannot, either priests or laymen, with safety to our souls, have Henry for our king. If you say that you are pledged to him by oath, we will also prove to you that no oath can bind you to persecute us.' Henry's envoys declined to enter into a debate which, they said, they had not come to maintain, and the decision of which could only rest with the king and the whole of his subjects. They only asked a truce till the middle of June, in order that a congress might meet in the interval, and the cause be discussed by the nation at large. The Saxon speakers replied that they would neither deceive nor be deceived; that they desired and granted peace till the time named, but that it must be a complete and veritable peace. The opposite side then promised peace to all the Teutonic provinces of the Saxon party. 'Do you think we be such fools?' exclaimed Duke Otho. 'You want security for your own lands, to gain time to insult the Holy Apostolic See; and you promise us peace till you shall have abased, if God would permit, him who is our lord. Nay, that may not be; peace unbroken for ourselves and all who are on our side, or else for yourselves and your party no peace. If ye will not have it so, go on in your

own way, but know ye that you will have unwelcome visitors in your country, while you are in Italy; you will not find your houses so well kept as you could desire. We tell you plainly that, as soon as possible, we shall have a king who will protect us from injury, and take vengeance on those who have wronged us.' These words were applauded even by the imperial soldiers who had listened to the conference. They exclaimed that the Saxons only asked a just thing, and that if it were refused, they should have less courage to fight against them at a future day.

The Saxons withdrew, with the intention of electing a new king; and Henry, trusting no doubt to the delays attending such an election, resolved to march into Italy.

BOOK IX.

1081–1084.

HENRY marched into Italy. In view of this peril, which the inflexible pontiff would make no conciliation to avert, Gregory VII. had opened the annual synod the first week in Lent, in the month of February 1081. The assembly was less numerous than usual. The report of Henry's successes, the agitation of Lombardy, where he was expected, and the danger of the roads, which were infested by armed bands, had kept many of the bishops at home. Many others, who were zealous for the Pope, were either prisoners in Henry's fortresses or were preaching the war in the camps of the Suabians and Saxons. There were, in fact, at this meeting scarcely any bishops but those in the neighbourhood of Rome, of Porto, Tusculum, and Præneste, with the cardinals and archpriests of the churches of the city. The pontiff's firmness was not thereby shaken; he temporarily suspended many bishops, who, having been summoned to the council, had neither come nor sent messages. Then, turning his attention to customary matters, he confirmed the sentences of deposition that had been pronounced against the archbishops of Arles and Narbonne, and anathematised two seigneurs of Campania, and their adherents who had pillaged the domains of

the Church. Lastly, to show that the death of Rudolph had changed nothing, he excommunicated anew Henry, falsely called king, and all his hardened accomplices.

It was impossible to keep silent in face of the dangers by which the Holy See was threatened, from the entrance of Guibert into Italy, the schism of the Lombards, and the approaching invasion of Henry. Many of the bishops asked if it were not allowable to sell or to pledge the property of the Church in defence against heretics. But others answered them that it was not lawful to alienate the sacred vessels, except for the redemption of captives and the relief of the poor ; that under the government of Joseph, the property of priests was exempted from all public charges ; and lastly, that offerings that had been made to God, could not be made the price of blood—that such was the sacrilege of Heliodorus ; and so the assembly broke up.

The pontiff was grievously disturbed on account of the dangers by which that faithful ally of the Holy See, Matilda, was threatened. Her possessions lying close to the hostile Lombard frontier, she would be the first exposed to Henry's vengeance, and had but a small and disheartened army to oppose to him. This consideration is uppermost in Gregory's active correspondence with his two legates in Saxony :

'We congratulate your prudence,' wrote he to them, 'on the extreme care you have taken to send us intelligence, and this more particularly because of the contradictory reports that reach us from your country. Further, we must tell you that almost all our faithful, having heard of the death of King Rudolph of holy memory, endeavour to persuade us by their entreaties to receive

to pardon Henry, who, as you know, has long been disposed to cede to us in many things, and to whom the Italians were well inclined. They add, that if Henry should not be able to obtain peace with us as he desires, and should march against the Holy Church, we should in vain expect any help from you. That such succour should fail us, who despise Henry's pride, would be a small evil; but if our dear daughter Matilda, the temper of whose soldiers is known to you, should not be supported by us, what is to be expected but that, her people refusing to fight, and looking on her as a mad woman, she would be forced either to make peace on Henry's terms, or to lose what she still possesses. It is, then, necessary that she have precise information as to whether she may expect certain help from you. If Henry should enter Lombardy, call, dear brethren, upon Welf, Duke of Bavaria, to render faithful service to Saint Peter, as he pledged himself to me to do in presence of the Empress Agnes and the Bishop of Como, when he received the concession of the fief of his deceased father.'

But the haughty pontiff desired not that the Saxons should be in too great haste to elect a king; though from him he might expect succour, he was willing to dispense with it. 'It were better,' said he, 'to fix on a man, after some delay, who would be to the honour of the Church, than hastily to raise to the throne one unworthy of it, as so many kings have been. We know truly that our brethren in Saxony are weary of this long struggle and these continual troubles; but it is more noble to combat long for the liberty of the Holy Church than to remain subject to a miserable and diabolical

servitude. Those unhappy men who are members of the devil, fight only to become his slaves; but the members of Christ struggle to bring back even these miserable creatures to the Christian liberty. If you have not a king who will be obedient and humbly submissive to the Holy Church, such as we hoped in Rudolph, not only will the Holy Church not favour him, but will oppose him.

'Ye know, dear brethren, what the Holy Church expected of Rudolph, and what he himself promised. We must be very careful, in the midst of the present dangers and troubles, to make sure that we have reason to expect as much from him who shall be elected. Wherefore we indicate to you the pledges the Holy Church will demand of him on oath:

'Henceforth and for ever I will be faithful to the blessed Apostle Peter and his vicar in the flesh, Pope Gregory; and I will truly obey the said Pope and execute his commands as a Christian ought to do. As to the churches, lands, and revenues which have been given to Saint Peter by the Emperors Constantine and Charlemagne, and all and any other churches and domains that have at any time been given to the Apostolic See by man or woman in my realm, I will side with the Pope in regard to such gifts, so as not to incur the guilt of sacrilege, to the peril of my soul. By the help of Christ, I will render to God and Saint Peter loyal homage and service; and the day I shall first see the Pope I will constitute myself the faithful knight of Saint Peter and himself.'

While tracing this form of devout submission and feudal service, Gregory VII. left his legates the right of

suppressing some of the words—provided, said he, that the promise of complete obedience were maintained. On one point, moreover, he relaxed his wonted inflexibility.

The law of celibacy seemed repugnant to Germany. Many priests of that country still kept to their wives or concubines; many others were accused of simony. The legates consulted Gregory on these points, and the Pope, fearing, no doubt, either to keep in Henry's party or to transfer to it so many soldiers of the Church, replied, in a somewhat obscure manner, that for the present, on account of the troubles and the scarcity of good priests, it would be well to temper the canonical rigour, and bear with those offenders. 'In a season of peace and tranquillity, which,' added he, 'we believe, by God's mercy, to be approaching, we shall be able more conveniently to bestow our attention on these matters, and exact the more complete observance of religious discipline.'

This half-extorted concession is perhaps the most complete proof of the obstacles the pontiff experienced, and of the new perils he apprehended.

In this situation, Gregory endeavoured to raise money, to collect troops, and especially to make sure of the effective succour of the Normans. Up to this time he had derived small advantage from the absolution he had given the Duke Guiscard, and the oath he had received in exchange. A nephew of this duke, Loritello, seigneur of a canton of Apulia, which he had extended by some domains taken from the Church of Rome, was still continuing his incursions and pillage on the pontifical lands.

Robert, the indulgent spectator of these infractions of the contract to which he had sworn, had, moreover, been absorbed for a whole year in his preparations for his great expedition to the East.

Gregory, neither at ease nor pleased with regard to these proceedings, determined to obtain some further insight into the intentions of Guiscard. The man who was most highly respected by the Norman chief was Didier, the abbot of Monte Cassino. Not only had Guiscard preserved his monastery from all exactions and violence, but he had often sent it rich presents on his return from some fortunate expedition. Gregory then charged the Abbot Didier to ascertain Guiscard's plans and his sentiments towards the Church of Rome. 'We especially desire,' wrote he, 'that you should find out whether, in case we should undertake any expedition after Easter, the duke will promise us his aid, either in his own person or in that of his son; and that if he cannot do that, how many soldiers he will pledge himself to send us, without fail, after the feast of Easter, to be enrolled in the home army of blessed Peter. Try, also,' added the Pope, 'to discover whether, during Lent, when it is not the custom of the Normans to make war, the duke would consent to come with his train to meet either ourselves or one of our legates, in some part of the territory of Saint Peter, and thus, by his show of zeal and obedience, confirm the well-disposed in their fidelity to the Holy See, and, by fear or force, bring into obedience the rebellious, and thus offer to God the gratuitous help of his arms.'

Though the object of this letter was to obtain succour against Henry, the Pope does not say so;

and after some lamentations on the subject of Loritello's audacious sacrilege, he adds these few words: 'We have no certain news from the other side of the mountains, except that all those who come to us from that country affirm that Henry's situation is worse than ever.'

But at this very moment Henry, delivered, as we have seen, from Saxony, and persuaded that it was at Rome that the subjugation of Rudolph's party must be completed, had crossed the Alps, and in the early days of April he kept the feast of Easter in Pavia. He brought some troops with him and he found more in Italy. What Gregory dreaded then took place. The dominions of Matilda were the first to feel the effects of Henry's anger; he set fire to the villages and destroyed many of the castles; but the intrepid Countess kept up the courage of her troops. Sometimes she held the open country as a general, sometimes she took refuge in that fortress of Canossa which had witnessed Henry's humiliation, or else in the mountains of Ragusa. The people loved her and took up arms in her cause.[1]

Ofthe sieges to which she was exposed and the battles she fought, the exact particulars are not known, for they have come down to us only by tradition, and were put together long after the events commemorated. Records of the middle ages represent Matilda as sitting on horseback like a man, clad in a

[1] Arma, voluntatem, famulos, gazam propriamque
Excitat, expendit, instigat, prœlia gessit.
Singula si fingam quæ fecit nobilis ista,
Carmina sic crescent, sunt ut numero sine stellæ;
Plura sed omittam; de paucis discite mire.

long red robe, and holding in her hand a pomegranate, the emblem of her virginity. The accounts of the time do not say that she actually drew the sword, but they name no other chief in her army; they mention no celebrated warrior in its ranks, and all points to the conclusion that Matilda herself commanded her troops, and that she alone organised the resistance that Henry encountered on the frontiers of Lombardy. Matilda's vigilance was also on the watch to discover whatever negotiations Henry might attempt to obtain support. She learned through her emissaries, who had access to the king's confidants, that he was in treaty with Robert Guiscard, proposing to cede to him the March of Ancona, and to betroth his own son to the daughter of the Norman prince; she immediately warned Gregory, by letter, of his new danger. Her zeal and courage were kept up by Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, a gifted and holy man, whom Gregory had given her as her confessor.

But the town of Lucca, a dependency of Matilda's, was divided by two factions, one of which, being opposed to the bishop and to Gregory VII., desired the arrival of the Germans above all things. Henry taking advantage of this disposition, suddenly marched to the place, which immediately opened its gates to him.

Anselm was obliged to fly. The king put a new Bishop, named Guibert, in his stead, and an important town was thus lost to Matilda. Henry, master of Lucca, but regretting the time he had wasted before Matilda's fortresses, took the road to Ravenna, in order there to join his forces with those of Guibert, and then to march on Rome.

'Henry, falsely called king,' wrote Gregory to the Abbot Didier, 'is at this present in the suburbs of Ravenna, with the intention of coming to Rome at Pentecost if he can. We know for certain, both by the Ultramontanes and Lombards, that he has but few troops; we hear that he expects to collect in the environs of Ravenna, and in the March of Ancona, an army wherewith to march upon Rome. We do not think he will be able to carry out his views, for he will find no encouragement or shelter in the countries through which his path lies.'

Nevertheless the pontiff earnestly conjures the abbot of Monte Cassino to renew his request to Guiscard; tells him of the negotiation opened by Henry with the Norman prince, begging him to learn the particulars of it, to provide against their being fulfilled, and to return speedily to Rome. 'Let me add,' says he, in conclusion, 'that the Romans, and those who are about us, are ready to do anything for the service of God and ourselves.' All the endeavours of Didier failed to obtain from Guiscard the succours which Gregory had claimed of him as a vassal of the Holy See; but, on the other hand, Guiscard, after some parleying, rejected all Henry's offers, and refused to ally himself with him against the Pope.

It is even probable that the cunning Norman, nowise anxious to favour the success of the King of Germany in Italy, was not sorry to let the war proceed, and to keep the Pope waiting for the help of his vassal. In point of fact, Henry being in the first instance neither succoured nor opposed by the Normans, and strengthened by the numerous partisans Guibert could

command in Ravenna, and by all the enemies the Roman Church possessed in Italy, marched on Rome.

At the very time named in Gregory's letters, on May 22, the night of Pentecost, he encamped under the city walls, in a spot called 'Nero's Field.' He brought his Pope Guibert with him. His troops, collected from all parts, and composed of Germans, Lombards, and Italians, were numerous and animated by hatred of the pontiff and the hopes of plundering Rome.

On the other side, Gregory VII. had made every preparation for a vigorous resistance. The greater number of the Roman nobles made common cause with him; and not only had he regular troops, paid with his money and encouraged by frequent largesses, but the inhabitants of Rome, as ever the enemies of German domination, and excited against Henry by so many orations and anathemas, had taken up arms with ardour. The city, notwithstanding its vast circuit, was at almost every point defended either by the remains of its ancient walls, or by towers and ramparts of recent construction. The suburb of Saint Peter, which had been increased and fortified in the ninth century by Pope Leo, covered the city; and its inhabitants manned its walls, ready to defend themselves, and uttering ferocious exclamations against the King of Germany and his Pope.

Henry was surrounded by the prelates of his party: Liemar, Archbishop of Bremen; Thédald, Archbishop of Milan; Benzo, Bishop of Albi; and many others. He had also near his person many Roman patricians, who had long since taken refuge at his court, and

who assured him that their fellow citizens would lay down their arms at his approach; and he flattered himself that, like his predecessors Otho and Henry, he should enter Rome without striking a blow, and obtain for himself that imperial crown whose possession seemed to be the condition of power unlimited. The attitude of the Romans astonished him, but his bishops and barons assured him they would not maintain it long. The following morning, the feast of Pentecost, they were assembled in Henry's tent, and expressed their regret not to be able to celebrate his coronation on that holy day. 'But what can we do?' said they; 'we have not two churches at command here, so that the king may receive the imperial robes and the crown in the one, and then repair in pomp to hear mass in the other.'

Manassah, Archbishop of Rheims, who had been so harassed by Gregory VII., was then present as envoy of Philip of France to Henry's Court. 'If,' said he, 'the place does not allow of the ceremony of the coronation, let us at least celebrate the mass with the reverence due to this holy day.' But Benzo, Bishop of Albi, who had been often employed in Henry's negotiations, then spoke, saying, 'Why should we delay? we are about to-day to celebrate in this tent the holy sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ. It would also be well to accomplish in this tent the king's coronation. Many things are done contrary to custom when necessity commands: David, when a-hungered, ate the shew-bread which it was lawful for the Levites only to eat.'

Justifying thus the irregularity of the coronation he proposed, the bishop cited many examples at length,

among others, that of the Emperor Nicephorus, who, having besieged Antioch for years, resolved to march round the walls with his crown on his head, and with the cross carried before him, which made such an impression on the inhabitants that they surrendered. The bishop having added that Alexander, king of Macedon, marched in all his expeditions with his crown on his head, decided at last that Henry ought to avail himself of this mysterious ceremony, and be crowned forthwith.

This speech and those authorities swayed Henry's counsellors. The Archbishop of Milan said that the words of his brother the Bishop of Albi were the words of the Holy Spirit, and worthy of the day in which they were uttered. Henry, raising his hand to heaven, gave thanks to the Holy Ghost, who was, he said, thus willing to be present at his coronation: and turning towards Guibert, 'And thou, my father, who shalt judge the world with Peter and Paul, tell me what thou thinkest?' 'Respect for Cæsar alone induces me to reply,' said Guibert; 'the thing is plain; it is inspired by the Holy Ghost. Let two tents be prepared; Cæsar shall be crowned in one and shall march in procession to the other, and the spectacle will be well pleasing to men and angels.'[1]

All things were hastily prepared for the ceremony; the whole army was ranged in a circle around the two tents, which were separated by the space over which the procession was to walk.

Henry issued from the one tent with his head en-

[1] Præparentur duo tabernacula: in uno coronetur Cæsar, ad alterum processionabiliter eat, eritque angelis et hominibus delectabile spectaculum —*Beuzon*, p. 1046.

circled with the diadem, the priests intoned the *Veni Creator*, and the Germans, Lombards, and Italians, each in their own way, shouted aloud to the accompaniment of trumpets and cymbals.

After this coronation 'in sight of the sun,' as an eye-witness calls it, Henry entered the tent where the altar was erected, and the mass was sung with solemn pomp. The army, proud at having an emperor, passed the rest of the day in rejoicings; and Henry, as though by this ceremony he had taken possession of Rome, immediately nominated officers to the principal dignities of the city. He made, in conformity with that imitation of the ancients which was common in the middle ages, tribunes, senators, and a prefect.[1]

This spectacle served Henry's interests, and was not without its influence on the imaginations of the people. Many of the inhabitants came from the country round to submit themselves to the new emperor, and it was reported that Henry had made his camp another Rome. He himself was careful to propagate this illusion. In a faculty which he granted at this time to a monastery in the territory of Sienna, and in a charter which he sent, of the 29th of June, to the town of Lucca, he dated from Rome, as though he had already taken possession of the city he was besieging.

Meanwhile, his undertaking was opposed by many obstacles. The heat of summer, ever so fatal to the German troops in Italy, had begun, and to them the sulphurous exhalations of the Campagna joined their

[1] Creavit novos centuriones, tribunos ac senatores, præfectum et nomenclatorem secundum antiquum ritum.—Beuzon, *Panegyr. apud Meneken*, p. 1034.

destructive influence. Henry gave orders to his soldiers to quit Nero's field, and he led them towards another part of the Leonine city. The fall of a portion of the wall during the night favoured an assault, but Henry did not attempt it. According to the statement of a bishop of his own party, who was an eye-witness of the siege, he restrained his soldiers out of religious respect, and not to profane the holy city of Rome. This motive, even if erroneously attributed to the besieger, is a memorable illustration of the respect which was still paid to Gregory VII., whom he had deposed.

But we may also suppose that, seeing the resistance offered by the besieged, and feeling the dangerous effects of the season, Henry was anxious to quit an unhealthy post. Before retiring, however, he resolved to carry the war beyond the Tiber, and to subject the towns and seigneuries near Rome. Having turned Mount Soracte, he marched for nine hours and then halted on the river's bank. His army was divided on the question of crossing. Many said that it would be better not to attempt the passage of the Tiber, which had neither ford nor bridge, and to return to Lombardy to carry on the war against Matilda. Others, more determined, proposed to advance to Narni, where the river could be easily crossed, and where division among the allies of Gregory VII. would be the result. The schismatic bishops were the most eager for the continuance of the war against Gregory. The Bishop of Albi, having procured two boats, crossed the river first, and set up his tent on the other side, in sight of the surrounding army. The Bishop of Placenza

imitated this example, and crossed soon after, in the same boats, with his followers. The next morning, at daybreak, Henry came over in a vessel with the Archbishops of Ravenna and Aquilea and a German battalion; and then the whole army, whose line of march extended three miles, crossed the river at various points. It met with no resistance; the castles and villages everywhere submitted to Henry. Leaving Rome for this year, he continued his march to Florence, but his attempts against that city were fruitless. Faithful to Matilda and zealous for Gregory VII., the inhabitants had shut their gates and taken up arms. Henry continued his march towards Lucca and Rimini, and arriving in Northern Italy in the month of August, he prosecuted the war against the garrisons of Matilda which were harassing Lombardy.

Meantime, the pontiff, supported by his courage and his faith, seemed to have no other succour. Guiscard was still busy at Palermo and on the coasts of Apulia, collecting arms, provisions, and ships for his great design, which was favoured by the new troubles which had arisen at Constantinople. To the pressing entreaties that were addressed to him in the Pope's name by the Abbot of Monte Cassino, he contented himself with replying, that he would not have undertaken his expedition to the East if he had foreseen Henry's arrival; but that now, having made such great preparations, he could not renounce his design. On receiving intelligence of the siege of Rome, Guiscard wrote the Pope a letter to the same purpose, but which, while it put off the promised succour, renewed the assurance of it.

'To the sovereign pontiff, the Lord Robert, duke by God's leave.

'When I heard of the aggression of thy enemies, I long refused to believe it, in the conviction that there was none who would dare raise his arm against thee. Who would attack such a father, unless he were mad? I must inform thee that I am arming for a trying war against a nation difficult to conquer—for I make war on those Romans who have filled both land and sea with their triumphs. As to thee, I owe thee all fidelity, and will acquit myself of it when opportunity offers.'

It is Anna Comnenus who has preserved in her works this letter, which it was the interest of Constantinople to make known, but whose expressions have possibly been exaggerated by Greek vanity in their translation.

While Henry's army was besieging Rome, he, foreseeing a lengthened resistance, had quitted his camp to visit Lucca, and make sure of the continued obedience of its inhabitants. A charter which he had sent them from his camp, and which was dated from Rome, shows us on what conditions he might hope to secure the fidelity of the towns that were still his. The prince promised in this deed that no fortress should be built within the walls of Lucca, and that no governor should make a sojourn there exceeding four days.

Meantime, in Germany, the Saxon chiefs who had refused the truce asked by Henry, took advantage of his absence. They had sent a message to all the seigneurs who spoke the Teutonic language, to propose to them to elect a new king, and promising to give their

support to whomsoever they should choose, with the exception of Henry and his son. On the refusal of Henry's partisans, they now advanced into Southern Germany and ravaged the country. The seigneurs of Suabia then joined them, and on the 9th of August 1081 was held a diet, in which Hermann, Count of Luxemburg, was elected King of Germany. Welf, Duke of Bavaria, on whom Gregory VII. relied, and with good reason, supported this election ; but the other provinces of Germany remained faithful to Henry, and a numerous army was raised against Hermann, who conquered it near Hockstadt, and laid siege to Augsburg, the city which, two years before, had been designated as the place of meeting of that diet which was to pronounce sentence on Henry, and which was now garrisoned by his own troops and armed in his cause.

The Duke Otho himself had consented to Hermann's election ; but his pride being aroused by the reproaches of his countrymen, caused him to retract. The consequent uncertainty lasted some months and raised the hopes of Henry's partisans. They invited the Duke Otho to a secret conference, but while his indecision was still a disturbing cause in the Saxon camp, God in His mercy, says the Saxon chronicler, took his life. His horse having rolled over upon him, his leg was broken, and he died a few days afterwards. All Henry's enemies then agreed as to their choice, and at Goslar, Hermann was anointed and crowned by the Archbishop Siegfried. This king was, like his predecessor Rudolph, elected by the bishops and for the glory of the Holy See. Gregory's two legates, Altmann and Wilhelm, were present at the ceremony, and they immediately

called on the new prince to march to Italy to free the Holy Father from Henry's oppression.

Henry had again returned to the walls of Rome, and notwithstanding the new troubles in Germany, he seemed determined to prosecute the siege of the city, and not to leave Italy till he had humbled the enemy who raised Germany in revolt against him; but the summer heat, so often fatal to the Northern troops in Italy, and the unhealthiness of the surrounding country, had once more spread disease through Henry's army. He raised the siege, and leaving a portion of his troops in the healthiest spots near Rome, fell back to Lombardy.

Some time previous to his retreat, Guiscard had at last commenced the great enterprise for which he had been so long preparing, and which embraced nothing short of the conquest of the Greek empire. The usurper against whom he had professed to take up arms had just been dethroned by one of his generals, Alexis Comnenus, High Chamberlain of the Empire. This new emperor had lost no time in liberating Guiscard's daughter from her convent and doing her all honour. A messenger of the Norman prince, Raoul, surnamed Peau de Loup, had by his master's directions encouraged the revolt of Alexis. But neither this revolt, nor the consequent fall of the former usurper Botoniates, was sufficient to satisfy Guiscard. He wanted a subject of complaint, and a pretext for attacking the Greek empire; and when his envoy Raoul, bought over probably by the friends of Alexis, came to inform him there was no longer any motive for the war, that his daughter was at liberty, that she should wed Constantine and enjoy the honours of the Court of Constantinople, Guiscard

in a rage drove him from his presence as a traitor, and he immediately ordered the departure of his fleet and army. His object had in fact been, not to secure empty honours for his daughter, but her marriage with the heir of the empire; and the elevation of Alexis, in disappointing this hope, only goaded on Guiscard's ambition. He regulated all things in his dominions, leaving the government of Apulia to his second son Roger and that Richard Loritello of whose brigandage Gregory had so recently complained. He charged them both to succour the pontiff if they should see him in imminent peril. He took with him his eldest son Boemond, who was afterwards so celebrated as one of the heroes of the first crusade. His fleet consisted of one hundred and fifty ships, and carried, we are told, thirty thousand men.

The duke had at first intended to embark at Otranto, but he finally decided on the shorter voyage from Brindisi to Dyrrachium, and set sail at the end of June 1082.

No naval expedition of the same magnitude had been attempted in the century since the invasion of William the Conqueror. That example no doubt animated Guiscard, and he proposed to himself nothing less than to subject to his power Greece and Egypt, as his countryman had done England. These hardy warriors, inured to all fatigues on land and to all the dangers of the sea, were about to attack the enervated people of the East. Guiscard was old, it is true, for the accomplishment of such vast designs (he was then sixty-six), but he lived again in his son Boemond, on whom he had conferred the command of his troops under himself, and whom he despatched with fifteen ships. Sigelgaide, his second wife, accompanied him also. She was the daughter of a prince

of Salerno whom Guiscard had dethroned, and had adopted the manners of the warriors whose chief she had espoused. She wore the casque and cuirass, wielded her lance and managed her horse in such wise as to make her stroke dreaded in fight.

A short sail brought him to Corfu. He disembarked without opposition, and delighted with the beauty and richness of the island, he took possession of a fortress called Cassiopea, and of the town of Corfu: the whole island was soon reduced, and laid under contribution.

Guiscard next took possession of the neighbouring coast of Illyria, and dividing his army, sent his son Boemond to attack Durazzo by land, while he made sail for the same place.

Alexis, only just seated on the throne, and threatened by so active an enemy, had also to repulse the Turks, who, already masters of Nicea, carried their incursions over every part of the empire, watered their horses in the Bosphorus, and pillaged the churches on its shores. He had, moreover, to apprehend treason from his own people, from the party of the last emperor, and even from the example he had himself set by usurping the empire.

But, by a skilful resistance and a prompt peace, Alexis in the first place secured the aid of the Turks. He placed a governor in Durazzo on whose fidelity he could depend, and thus disconcerted the communications which Guiscard had arranged so long beforehand; and secondly, he hastily collected a considerable number of troops in the provinces of Asia that were still dependencies of the empire. He had previously made sure of assistance from the Venetians, who had promised to send a fleet to Durazzo. At the same time he kept up a close

communication with Henry, whose ambassador was at the Court of Constantinople. In order to induce Henry to make a diversion on the possessions of Guiscard, Alexis sent him one hundred and forty thousand gold crowns and one hundred pieces of purple: 'The money is in Roman coin,' said he in his letter. At the same time he told him that a further sum of two hundred thousand gold crowns should be sent as soon as he had subscribed by oath to the proposed alliance. Meantime, the Greek emperor sent his brother of the West a crown of gold, a cross enriched with pearls, a casket of relics, a vase of sardonyx, and sweet spices from Arabia.

This embassy reached Henry just at the time when he was quitting Rome to draw back with his army to Lombardy. In the short voyage from Corfu to Durazzo, Guiscard's fleet had been assailed by a violent tempest, and his own ship had very narrowly escaped destruction, a great part of his provisions were lost, but his ardour in pursuing his enterprise was not lessened by these misfortunes, and, after having taken some of the fortresses on the coast, he laid siege to Durazzo. His machines began to batter the walls, and his troops to ravage the plain and to construct huts under the walls of the place, to shelter them through the winter.

The inhabitants of Durazzo then sent envoys to Guiscard's camp, to enquire the object of the war. The duke replied that he was come to restore the Emperor Michael, who had been unjustly dethroned. The deputies then promised that if he would let the inhabitants see the Emperor Michael they would open their gates to him. Guiscard then caused his Emperor Michael to be paraded round the walls, clad in purple, preceded

by trumpets and surrounded by a brilliant cortège ; but the Greeks of Durazzo burst out laughing at the exhibition, declaring that 'that man was not Michael, but some low cup-bearer of the palace.' Guiscard thereupon continued the siege, but one evening the Venetian fleet was descried at sea by the Normans. At daybreak the battle began : the Venetians possessed the greater maritime experience, and they also made use of the Greek fire.

The Norman fleet re-entered the port flying. The Venetians took many of their vessels and ran the rest ashore. The news of this reverse soon spread through the country. Corfu and the neighbouring islands which had submitted to Guiscard revolted, and no longer sent either tribute or supplies. The infection began to spread through the Norman army. Five hundred knights fell, and we may judge from this fact what must have been the number of those of whose death no account was taken. The bold duke seemed to be in mighty peril.

The Emperor Alexis was advancing on Constantinople, at the head of a numerous army, to complete Guiscard's ruin ; he had with him all the nobility of the empire, his guards, both Greek and foreign, the pick of his garrisons, and a body of English who had been driven from their country by the oppressions of William, and were full of bitter hate for the Normans; and lastly, he had purchased the aid of a corps of Turkish cavalry, and raised in his own dominions some thousands of the sect of the Manicheans, who were hardened by continued persecutions and renowned for their ferocious valour.

In the beginning of October the Norman foragers

first caught sight of the lances of the Greek army. One of the generals of Alexis, Basil, a captain of great experience, had already advanced with a body of Turkish cavalry as far as the ancient Butrotum, when he was surrounded and, after some resistance, taken prisoner by the Normans. Being conducted to the presence of Robert, he told him of the immediate approach of Alexis, and gave the number of his troops.

The duke then called together his principal chiefs in consultation. Some of the most ardent proposed leaving the camp and marching forward to meet Alexis. Guiscard preferred waiting for him, but, to cut off all hope from flight, he burnt part of his fleet and joined the sailors to his troops.

The imperial army appeared towards evening in the plains of Dyrrachium. Guiscard did not leave his camp. At daybreak he and his army heard mass, and both knights and men confessed and received the communion. They then marched forward in a compact mass to meet the army of Alexis. The English auxiliaries, who formed the Greeks' first line, and were armed with heavy battle-axes, resisted vigorously, and the Italians and Calabrians fled before their onslaught. Guiscard's cavalry even retreated as far as the river which covered Durazzo; but the duke had broken down the bridges, and they were obliged to stand and fight. The seashore was not less fatal to the Normans; the Venetian fleet drew up to take in and strip the prisoners. Guiscard's wife, Sigelgaide, being wounded by an arrow, was about to seek a refuge on board the Venetian ships by surrendering herself prisoner, when the courage of Guiscard restored the battle. Bearing aloft the holy

banner he had received from the Pope, and putting his trust in Saint Matthew, of whom he always wore a relic, he charged the enemy anew; he had changed his order of battle. The victorious English left their flank uncovered as they advanced; the Norman knights charged them on both sides; and nothing, says the Greek princess, Anna Comnenus, could withstand the impetuosity of the French lances.

The English fled in disorder towards the church of Saint Nicholas, where many of them were massacred. The Greek army was beaten from that moment; Alexis fled. More than five thousand Greeks, it is said, perished on that day; and Guiscard became master of the camp of Alexis and its rich spoils. Many of the Greek nobles fell, and among the dead was the Prince Constantine, the husband of Guiscard's daughter. A Norman chronicler tells us that not more than thirty knights of his nation fell; but he says nothing of the loss of the Italians, who were also Guiscard's subjects, nor of the death of the false Emperor Michael, who was killed in the fight.

The fame of this victory spread through the West. Guiscard himself hastened to announce it to the Pope; and Gregory VII. took the opportunity of reminding the victor of his obligations to Rome.

'Be careful,' said he, 'ever to keep before thine eyes Saint Peter, whose protection of thee is proved by these great events; think, too, of thy mother, the Holy Roman Church, who trusts to thee more than to any other prince; and, above all, think of Christ. Remember what thou hast promised Him—a promise which, even if thou hadst not made it, would be imposed on thee by

the rights of Christianity; but since thou hast made it, be not slow to fulfil it. Thou art not in ignorance of the tumult that is stirred up against the Church by Henry, falsely called King; nor how greatly she needs the help of thee, who art her son. Stir, then, so that the more the son of iniquity fights against us, the more the Church may rejoice in the succour afforded to her by thy piety.'

Though Rome was not besieged at that moment, the concluding words of the Pope's letter indicate to what an extent the roads were infested by Henry's partisans. 'We fear,' says he, in conclusion, 'to attach to this our leaden seal, for fear the enemy may get possession of it and put it to some bad use.'

Meantime, Guiscard, after his victory, had retired to some distance from Durazzo, to take up his winter quarters and to repose his troops. He even had a fort built near the river Guival, which fort was long celebrated in the traditions of the country. Under its shelter the Norman prince continued the war by new means. Alexis had been so imprudent as to remove the faithful Greek governor he had put into Durazzo, and to replace him by a Venetian. The latter had, or affected to have, some cause of complaint, and sent a deserter to ask an interview with Guiscard. The duke came, attended by a chosen escort, to the church of Saint Nicholas; and thither, too, came the Venetian, to confer with him. This man received the promise of having a niece of the Norman duke for his wife, and agreed to give up the town, in a defenceless state, if surprised by night.

At the beginning of the spring of 1082, Henry,

being still favoured by the absence of Guiscard, had returned to the siege of Rome. He met with as energetic a resistance as on the first occasion. Not being able to take the Leonine city by assault, he established communications inside it; and some traitors, gained over, it is said, by him, set fire to some houses near Saint Peter's, in order to divide the attention of the combatants, and to induce them to abandon the defence of the walls. But the pontiff was the first to rush to the scene of the fire, and, sending every soldier to the ramparts, he stayed with a small number of the inhabitants to extinguish the flames. This wonderful presence of mind was set down as a miracle; and it was reported that the Holy Father had arrested the fire by making the sign of the cross and forbidding the flames to spread.[1]

Henry, still unsuccessful, and fearing the effects of the approaching summer on his numerous army, contented himself with placing garrisons in some of the castles of which he had taken possession in the neighbourhood of Rome; and, leaving his Pope Guibert at Tivoli, with a body of troops under his command, he returned with the main body of his army to Upper Italy, to seek a more wholesome climate. He took with him, as prisoners, the Bishop of Sutri, a small town ten leagues from Rome, and some other priests, who had signalised themselves by their zeal in the cause of Gregory VII. As soon as he reached Lombardy,

[1] Nam primum viso incendio omnes milites Romanos ad propugnacula defendenda transmisit; ipseque solus fiduciâ sancti Petri fretrus, facto signo crucis contrà incendium, ignem progredi ulterius non permisit.—Berthold, *Const. Chronic.* p. 117.

he renewed his attempts either to form an alliance with, or to achieve a conquest over Matilda, whose troops still carried on the war against the schismatics, and who, in the absence of Robert Guiscard, might be said to be the only supporter Gregory had in Italy. But Matilda exhibited unconquerable firmness. Anselm of Lucca, and the other bishops persecuted by Henry's party, had taken refuge with her, and they inspired her with their own ardour. She was ready to receive and to succour all, whether Italians or Germans, who bore the name of Catholics and belonged to Gregory's party. At the same time, she fought, she negotiated, she wrote to the German seigneurs who were connected with her own family, to stir them up against Henry; she gained over many Italian seigneurs by presents; she set fire to the castles of others; and, more than all, she sent money to Rome; and, in order to do so, she hesitated not to strip the church of Canossa. The abbot solemnly placed in her hands the treasure of that church; vessels of gold and candlesticks of silver, the offerings of Matilda's ancestors, she sent them all to Gregory VII.

Meantime, the army of Henry marched to Rimini, and thence on Matilda's states. Many of her castles submitted to the king; the countess was reduced to shut herself up in Canossa; and then negotiations and controversy began to enter into the war.

Guibert, who had remained at Tivoli with troops that had made the campaign of Rome, wrote from his camp to the Bishop Anselm, exhorting him to peace, and conjuring him to leave Matilda.

Anselm replied by a letter, in which, having vigor-

ously maintained the rights of Gregory VII., he added: 'As to thy entreating that I would not longer continue to circumvent and deceive a very noble lady, I take God to witness that I, in keeping near her, have no worldly or temporal views. I pray God to take me from this perverse generation, among whom I drag on a life of oppression and servitude, devoting myself day and night to the care of preserving that woman to God and the Church, my mother, by whom she has been confided to me; and I hope to gain for myself a great reward from God for having thus kept her, who wasted not her riches, but has laid up for herself inexhaustible treasures in heaven, being always ready to give, not only her worldly goods for the defence of justice, but to shed her blood for thy confusion and the glory of the Church, until such time as God shall deliver his enemy into the hand of a woman.'

Adelaide, Princess of Piedmont, and a feudatory of Henry, also made an attempt to reconcile the Emperor and Matilda; but the firmness of the countess, and the counsels of the priests by whom she was surrounded, rendered those efforts fruitless. Two of Gregory's partisans, Bernard, Abbot of Marseilles, and the famous Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, whose intercession had formerly been invoked by Henry, had arrived in Italy, and were said by a theologian of Henry's party to run the country for the purpose of inciting silly women against the Emperor.

At this time the successes of Robert Guiscard in Illyria and Greece made the Greek emperor desire the alliance of Henry. The Norman emperor had, after a long siege, obtained possession of Durazzo by the

treachery of a Venetian captain serving in the town. The anxious Alexis, remembering that the Emperor was in Italy with a large army, had sent rich presents to him, in order to induce him to make a diversion on Calabria and Apulia. Henry had accepted the presents, but had done nothing; but Robert, having been informed of this negotiation, and of some sedition that had broken out in the towns of Troja and Ascoli, quickly crossed the sea, and, making his appearance in his own dominions, soon restored order by his presence, levied some troops, and returned to his army in Illyria, which he had left under the command of his son Boemond.

It was reported that the new emperor, Hermann, who had been elected by the Saxons, was preparing to march into Italy, to avenge the injuries of the Apostolic See; but that prince, held in check by the powerful party which Henry still preserved in Southern Germany, made no attempt to carry the war beyond the Alps; and, after having made a movement towards Suabia, he returned to Goslar. Henry, after having ravaged the states of Matilda, besieged Canossa in vain; and, strengthening his army by numerous recruits in Lombardy, marched to Rome, for the third time, in the spring of 1083.

His repeated attacks had shaken the constancy of the Romans, and soon after the renewal of the siege, in the week of Pentecost, Henry took the Leonine city by assault. Godfrey of Bouillon, who was then serving as a feudatory under the banner of his suzerain Henry, was one of the first who entered by the breach. Being afterwards attacked by sickness, the remorse he experienced on account of this action, induced him to make a

vow to accompany to the Holy Land that first crusade in which he acquired such glory. The possession of the Leonine city gave Henry the victory. Half of Rome was already in his power; and, without absolutely subscribing to the statements of a contemporary panegyrist, we may well believe that a political combination alone assisted the progress of his arms.

Gregory VII., nowise sure of the fidelity of the Romans, shut himself up in the castle of Saint Angelo, whilst Henry endeavoured to open communication with the nobles. Rome, meantime, may be said to have been taken. Henry dated the diplomas he sent the German bishops from the Vatican; and Gregory VII., shut up, with a few cardinals and a small number of armed men, in the castle of Saint Angelo, seemed ready to fall into the hands of his competitor and his enemy.

Already had Guibert summoned a synod in all haste at Saint Peter's; he convoked thither some of the bishops who had accompanied the army, also many priests, abbots, and laymen who were well disposed—that is to say, zealous in Henry's cause.[1] The first care of this assembly was to attack the anathemas which had been pronounced against the Emperor, and which they said were the root of all the evil.[2] To prove this, they cited many texts, both sacred and profane; but they especially directed their attention to pointing out, in Henry's excommunication, the irregularity of a sentence in which he had not been heard. We see from this that the

[1] Episcopos et abbates et quam plures honestos viros ad synodum, in ecclesiâ beatí Petri celebrandum, et diversis postibus convocanerimus.—*Udalrici Babenbergensis Codex apud Eccard.*, vol. i. p. 115.

[2] Negotium illud radix et origo cæterorum flagitiorum.—*Ibid.*

priests, no matter to which side they belonged, would not give up in principle the right of excommunicating kings. However, this synod, in order to satisfy Henry, declared, on the authority of Saint Augustine, 'that it was sacrilege to violate an oath taken to a king, and to plan his ruin, because he was the Lord's anointed.'

Gregory VII. had often forbid the faithful to receive the sacrament from the hands of those priests he qualified as schismatics, and had even with unexampled boldness provoked the people to revolt against them. The synod under Guibert accumulated many quotations and arguments to prove that the sacrament was independent of the priest. 'Those,' said he, 'according to Saint Augustine, who are baptized by a drunkard, an adulterer, or a murderer are baptized by Jesus Christ himself.' Guibert made known the decision of the council in a pastoral letter which he addressed to all Christendom. He deplored the absence of Otho, Bishop of Ostia, and his partisans, whom he had summoned to the council in vain; he lamented the effusion of blood[1] in Germany and Italy, the destruction of the churches, the miseries of families, the depopulation of the empire, and laid the cause of all these things on the legates of Gregory VII.; but what is especially worthy of notice in this letter is, that Guibert raises his voice against the simonist and married priests.[2] 'Seeing,' said he, 'that the murmurs of the people increase daily against the incon-

[1] Quantæ igitur humani sanguinis effusiones in Italico et Teutonico regno occasione prædicationis eorum factæ sint, quantæ ecclesiarum destructiones. *Udalrici Babenbergensis Codex apud Eccard.*, vol. i. p. 115.

[2] Quia murmur populi adversus incontinentiam clericorum passim crescit ac dilitatur, utile visum fuit ut eâ, qua debetis diligentiâ, ministros altaris secundum statuta canonum atque munditiam castitatis irreprehensibiliter custodire commoneatis.—*Ibid.*

tinence of the clergy, call ye upon the ministers of the altar to live according to the canons, preserving their chastity spotless, so that by the testimony of their holy lives they may put the insolence of the people to silence.'

By way of differing a little from Gregory VII., he declared blamable and shut out of communion with the Church all who should refuse to hear mass said by sinful priests, and thus dare forestall the apostolic censure.

These puerile and almost contradictory decisions only prove how necessary, and how popular, was that reform of the clergy which Gregory VII. had undertaken, and how thoroughly it had taken possession of the minds of those who were shocked at the licence of an ignorant and dissolute priesthood. A synod composed of those who had been excommunicated by Gregory VII., presided over by his rival, in the midst of Rome, just taken by assault, and under the still besieged walls of the castle of Saint Angelo, was forced to recognise the same maxims of religious discipline which Gregory VII. had established in his councils, and which had been called by Guibert the Synagogue of Satan.

Thus did the pontiff triumph in the midst of his defeat, and from the top of the castle of Saint Angelo he, as it were, heard his enemies proclaim in their very anathemas the laws he had made, and saw them humbly bow to the discipline he had striven to establish at the very moment they insulted his power and threatened his life.

Gregory had despatched in haste new messengers to inform Guiscard of the extremity to which he was

reduced, and to ask him for help in God's name. The Abbot of Sorrento and another priest made their way out of the castle of Saint Angelo, and having reached the fort of Otranto, they embarked for Illyria, and reached the camp of Guiscard in a few days. Being conducted to his tent, one of them spoke thus: 'O valiant duke, the Pope Gregory, appealing to thee as a father to a son, earnestly entreats thee to hasten to the help of the Apostolic See. Henry, the king of the Germans, is besieging Rome, and holds the Pope and the clergy who remain faithful to him shut up in the fortress of Crescentius. The Pope and the faithful around him fear to be betrayed by the defection of the Romans, who are greedy of gain and deceivers, and so to be delivered into the hands of his enemies.'

Robert Guiscard, whose victorious army was much enfeebled by sickness and war, seemed to hesitate for awhile; he then summoned to his tent his chief officers and his son Boemond. 'We must,' said he, 'always obey the voice of God; I will obey the Pope's orders, and will return to you as soon as I can. Meantime be ye prudent; do not give battle, do nothing to exasperate the people; I go to fulfil the duty to which the Lord calls me, and, if I do not lose my life, I shall be back before long. I swear, by the soul of Tancred, my father, neither to wash, nor to cut my hair or my beard till my return.' This said, he left the command of the army to his son Boemond, and, followed by some of his knights, he left with two small vessels for Italy.

Whatever may have been the pious zeal of the Norman prince, there is room to think another reason also made his presence in his own states desirable.

The absence of Guiscard, and perhaps, too, the success of Henry's arms, had encouraged revolts among his Italian subjects. Two towns of Calabria, Troja and Ascoli—the one oppressed by the taxes that were exacted by the greedy Normans, the other exasperated by witnessing the destruction of its walls—had revolted against Roger. The young prince, who was besieged by them for some time in the citadel of Troja, made a successful sortie and cruelly punished the insurgents. Numbers of them were maimed or mutilated by his orders, being deprived either of an arm or a leg, or of the nose or ears.

The poet who sings the praises of the Normans, compares the fury of Roger to that of a tiger, which, having long been held captive, at last recovers his liberty and either tears to pieces or devours all in his way.

These severities, however, did not put a stop to the troubles; there were other revolts against the Normans. Some seigneurs of that nation, and Jordan, Count of Capua, fearing the consequences of the popular enmity, were negotiating with Henry for the investiture. Guiscard lost no time in quelling these disorders by his presence. He did not, on his arrival in his own possessions, march straight to Rome, as he had promised to do; he brought the towns to order, raised troops, assembled a new fleet, and appeared rather to be preparing for the war in the East than in Italy.

Another cause retarded Henry's victory and the completion of the taking of Rome, and that was the respect for the pontifical authority which was felt even by the enemies of Gregory VII., and of which they could not rid themselves even in creating another pope. Master

of one half of Rome, Henry would have liked to be reconciled to Gregory and to have obtained the crown from him. In that hope he opened negotiations with the leading men of the city, who were weary of a war that gave up their possessions to pillage; and in order to win over these people, he employed, we are told, a portion of the gold he had received from Constantinople.

On one side, being unwilling to stain with blood that city in which he came to seek the crown, he desired to bring about the voluntary submission of the Romans by secret understandings; on the other side, that pontifical power, the subject of so many outrages, cantoned in a town but half taken, still seemed so formidable that, reserving to himself the right of deceiving it, Henry would have been glad to negotiate with it.

Thus, after the grand assault and the destruction of the portico of Saint Peter's, there was a sort of truce between Henry and the Romans. The prince did not then append to his acts that title of emperor which he hoped soon to receive in solemn form, but he looked on the war as ended.

He hastened, however, to reward his friends. It was a great pleasure to him to date from Rome the gift of some rich benefice, some wide domain, in favour of those bishops who, in order to remain faithful to his cause, had braved the anathemas of the head of the Church. There remains ample evidence of the spirit by which these liberalities were inspired.

Such is a diploma in which the emperor, in the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, after having referred to his constant custom of rewarding by well-deserved

largesses the services of those who were faithful to him, adds these words: 'It has seemed, then, to us worthy of ourselves that Liemar, the venerable archbishop of the holy church of Hamburg, should receive a great present. When the Saxon nation, in their rebellion and pride, rose up and made war against us, Liemar, constant to the faith he had sworn to us, abandoning his fellow-citizens and his goods, left great riches, and, coming to us, has ever remained our faithful and constant companion, except on occasions when our commands or the necessities of public affairs removed him for a short space. At the time of the war with Saxony he was present with us in two battles, in the midst of the greatest dangers. More than that, amidst the greatest difficulties and troubles, he was our envoy to the Apostolic See against that disturber of the world, Hildebrand; and three times he has accompanied us to besiege and take Rome. As a reward of such great fidelity to ourselves, we give and concede to Liemar and his successors the abbey of the nuns of Altené, on the banks of the Rhine, in the burg of Hamalade, with all its annexes and dependencies, slaves of both sexes, its halls and market-places, its coined money, its buildings, fields, fish-ponds, forests, fisheries, and hunting-grounds; and for that the said deed be stable for ever, we have commanded it to be sealed with our seal. Given the 10th of the kalends of June 1080 of the incarnation of Our Lord, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of the lord King Henry IV. Done at Rome, after the happy taking of the city. *Amen.*'

Meantime, the quarters on the other side of the Tiber were untouched, and continued to defend them-

selves. In order to command that part of the city, Henry erected a fort on a hill near the suburb of Saint Peter's; but at the same time he lent an ear to the recommendations of Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, and other pious individuals, who had already more than once intervened in his proceedings with the pontiff, and who now held themselves ready to mediate. Without openly declaring themselves against the king, they made no secret of the fact that in their eyes he was still an excommunicated man.

This reproach was aggravated by another misfortune proper to the age. The war which had been carried on in Italy and in the Roman Campagna for the last two years had prevented the assembling of any council at Rome. This fact weighed upon Henry. He was anxious to put away the appearance of having been the cause of it, and in some negotiations begun with the Roman nobles who defended some of the fortified points of the city for Gregory VII., he suddenly offered to refer the decision of his rights to a council that should be assembled at Rome; and for that purpose he proposed to break off the siege, to send away his troops, and to leave the roads entirely free to the prelates who should be summoned from the different parts of Italy. In submitting this project, the king no doubt reckoned on the many bishops of Lombardy who were more or less the declared enemies of the pontiff; and he never supposed that Gregory VII. was to preside over a council that was to pronounce between Germany and himself.

Weary of a long siege, the principal men of Rome were ready enough to listen to this proposal. Gisulph, the former Duke of Salerno, who had been dethroned

by the Normans and had taken refuge with Gregory VII., was alone opposed to any transactions with Henry. The other castellans, who were the Pope's defenders, eagerly consented to the proposed truce; many of them, wavering in their zeal, inclined to Henry, and promised him either reconciliation with the Pope or the Pope's deposition. As to Henry himself, either from the power of an ascendency to which he had long submitted, or under the dictates of cunning and intended revenge, he affected to believe that the forgetfulness of so many mutual injuries was still possible, and repeated the assurance that he should be happy to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Gregory VII.

These preliminaries led to the announcement of the convocation of a council at Rome for the month of November 1083, the members of which should freely meet in the absence of all foreign troops, and whose decision should be equally respected by the King of Germany and the Romans. These regulations were faithfully carried out. The king left only a slender garrison in the fort he had built near the suburb of Saint Peter's, no doubt as a mark of the advantage he had acquired and the siege he had broken off. He then returned with his troops towards Lombardy, taking care to send the Archbishop Guibert to Ravenna without delay, and affecting to grant with the utmost readiness the safe-conducts demanded.

On the other side, Gregory VII., according to the right which had doubtless not been questioned, sent bulls to Italy, France, and Germany, convoking the largest possible number of the bishops who were in the legitimate possession of their sees, as well as the abbots

at the head of their monasteries. Notwithstanding the cloud that had settled on Rome and the pontifical chair, notwithstanding the uncertainty of the information to be obtained, the difficulty of the roads, and the perils of the journey, a great number of prelates and abbots set out for the council which it was hoped would decide the great contest. Henry, while he withdrew his troops to facilitate the passage of the roads as he had promised, exercised a partial surveillance, and on many points unjust severities. By his orders the deputies sent by the princes of Germany as lay representatives at the council were seized, and he also detained three of the most highly respected prelates, well known for their attachment to Gregory VII., namely, Hugh, Bishop of Die, who had often been the delegate of the Holy See in France; Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, the confessor of the Countess Matilda; and Reynald, Bishop of Como, who had long shared the exile of the Empress Agnes. Other bishops, priests, and monks were also arrested, and, among the number, Otho, Bishop of Ostia, whom Gregory had deputed to Henry, and whose return to Rome he was expecting.

Notwithstanding these violent proceedings, the council which met at Rome on the 20th of November numbered many bishops and abbots who had come from Italy and the South of France. There were but few prelates from Germany; some were absent because of the anathema that had been pronounced against them by the pontiff, others because they were too devoted to his cause for the king, who was master of the communication between the countries, to allow them to reach Rome. Gregory came into the assembly with all his

habitual dignity. There could not be a moment's doubt that he came to preside over it, whatever might have passed through the minds of some of the bishops, who dreaded his severity though they had never experienced it. His intrepid language as to the present necessities of the Church, and his own resolution to brave all things for justice's sake, drew tears from all present. He intended in the first place, as in the former assembly, to have begun by reiterating the excommunication upon Henry, free to revoke it afterwards if sufficient satisfaction were made to the pontifical chair. But, in compliance with the entreaties of the greater part of the assembly, which was evidently influenced by a desire of conciliation and peace, he consented not to name the prince in his anathemas; and, by a kind of evasion which still involved a threat, he merely excommunicated those who by force or fraud were at that moment engaged in preventing any from coming to Saint Peter and the Pope.

This was the only modification that could be obtained from Gregory VII. in that assembly, which only sat three days. The Roman nobles had hoped it would do more than this to bring the war to a conclusion, and to give peace to the empire; they had thought they should be able more to influence the will of the pontiff, which, on the contrary, was only all the more imperious, because it was announced in a council. In vain had Henry announced, in vain did the Romans repeat, that he was ready to acknowledge the Pope's authority and to receive from him the imperial crown. Gregory declared that such a favour must be deserved, and that he would never bestow that crown till Henry,

sinful and relapsed, had made satisfaction to the Church by a new penance.

The absence of Henry, equally with the pontiff's firmness, stimulated the daring of the people of Rome, and roused their desire of striking off the foreign yoke. An infectious sickness had greatly weakened the garrison left by Henry at the entrance of the suburb of Saint Peter's; the captain in command, Gozheim, had been one of the first that died without the sacraments, as he deserved, says the chronicler, being an abettor of schism. The people soon afterwards attacked the forts; out of three hundred German soldiers, no more than ninety escaped with their lives, and the fortress, carried by force, was razed to the ground.

Meantime, on the breaking up of the council, whose sitting was so brief because it was impotent to secure a peace, Henry had again turned his face towards Rome, and soon reappeared in Nero's field and on the banks of the Tiber, with his army of Lombards and Germans. Independent of the sterile result of the council, he reckoned on the promises he had received from the chief inhabitants of the city, and he came to exact their fulfilment. But at this very time Gregory VII., who, fortified in the castle of Saint Angelo, had already given a portion of the churches' ornaments for the maintenance of the war, had received from Robert Guiscard the sum of thirty thousand gold crowns; and he distributed them to confirm the zeal of some of the Roman nobles. He proposed to them to reply to Henry's demand by a singular subterfuge; namely, that they had not promised to crown him by the hands of the Pope, but only to give him the crown. Well, that promise they would fulfil.

The Pope was ready to give him the crown, deservedly, if he did penance, accompanied by his anathema if he did it not. The first condition depended on himself; if he would not fulfil it, they would fulfil the second; and the Pope would let down the crown from the top of the capitol by a cord, and would thus carry out the promise that had been made by the Roman nobles, without absolving him who would not repent.

Henry disdained this derisive offer and resumed the siege of Rome. At the same time, he summoned to his camp the Archbishop of Ravenna, Guibert; for, no longer hoping to make peace with the inflexible pontiff of Rome, he had no reason to keep up appearances with him.

While the pontifical chair was assailed by this new danger, Constantinople, and what was then called the Empire of the East, was also threatened. In view of the dreaded attack of the Norman conquerors over all Greece, and on their march to the Bosphorus, Alexis could descry throughout Europe no prospect of succour for himself except by an alliance with Henry, and the success of his arms against Guiscard in that prince's Italian possessions. He sent, then, a formal embassy to Henry, to persuade him, in his own interest even, to carry the war into Calabria. The imperial ambassadors carried with them rich presents to back their arguments, according to the Oriental custom—a hundred pieces of rich scarlet stuffs, and, what would be more acceptable to Henry, a subsidy of one hundred and forty thousand gold crowns.

We are free to suppose that the delays and interruptions in the siege of Rome were in part caused by his repugnance to take the city by assault, and that he

would have preferred reducing it by siege or entering it in consequence of internal defections. However that may be, we see that, as a fact, he once more broke off the siege a few weeks after his intervention had been sought by the Greek empire, and advanced towards Apulia, whither the apprehension of this danger had already brought Guiscard; for, so far, the plans of Alexis Comnenus, seconded by the many entreaties that had been addressed to Robert to return to Italy and protect the Pope and deliver Rome, had succeeded.

Being informed of the hasty return of the Norman chief to his former conquests, Henry did not continue his march to that part of Italy which he knew would be well defended, and returned to press the siege of Rome. This time, whether the Romans were suffering from want of provisions, or whether some of the leaders of the people were weary of a contest that produced no results, and so willingly renewed the preceding and more lucrative negotiations, Henry was received into the city without opposition, and took up his residence in the Lateran, where the Pope had so lately presided over the council convoked during the truce and the withdrawal of the German troops to Lombardy.

But, notwithstanding the defection of a portion of the inhabitants of Rome, Gregory VII. was neither surprised nor betrayed; he had shut himself up in the castle of Saint Angelo, whither he had been accompanied by many of the Roman nobles, who, while they offered him forty hostages of his own selection as pledges of their fidelity, continued to serve him with their arms and struggled in his cause.

Besides this, their chief refuge, the partisans of the Pope were still masters of many fortified places in Rome; and among them the towers that commanded the bridges over the Tiber. One of his nephews, named Rusticus, a martial and courageous man, occupied between Mount Palatine and the hill Scorus, the ancient tower that had been built by Septimus Severus, which rose to seven storeys, and rested on long ranges of massive columns. In other parts of the city, many fortified houses, with narrow apertures, whence stones and fire could be cast on the assailants, were defended by Corsican soldiers that were zealous in the Pope's cause.

Whatever may be said of these scattered and last efforts at resistance, Henry, who had entered Rome, without fighting, on March 21, 1084, being the Thursday in Passion week, assembled the people the next day, and presented to them, as sovereign pontiff, the Archbishop of Ravenna, Guibert. The following Sunday, the Feast of Palms, he had him solemnly consecrated, in the basilica of the Lateran, by the bishops of Modena, Arezzo, and Bologna, who took the place of those of Ostia and Albano, to whom belonged the privilege of giving consecration to the Pope's elect. The presence of the German and Lombard troops at first secured a dead silence among the spectators, and the mass of common people ended by applauding the new enthronement.

But the whole city was not yet subdued; and when, on Easter-day, Henry was on the way to Saint Peter's, accompanied by his Queen and his Anti-pope Guibert, to receive the imperial crown in state, the procession was attacked, and there was a fight, in which forty men

of the King's guard were slain, and a far greater number of the assailants.

The ceremony was concluded without any other interruption. The King of Germany received the imperial crown from the hands of Guibert with all the pomp that had been so often repeated since the days of Charlemagne. The Queen Bertha also was crowned by the title of Empress. On leaving the cathedral, Henry took possession of the Capitol, where he fortified himself in the midst of his German soldiers; for he sent to their own country the greater part of the Lombard troops that were under the command of the Archbishop of Milan, Thedald, whose fidelity he had proved, but who was rendered less zealous for the fall of the former Pope by the elevation of Guibert.

Thus a crowned conqueror, but in the midst of ruins on which the castle of Saint Angelo and Gregory VII. still looked down, Henry applied himself to annihilate the remains of rebellion within the limits of the city. He caused all the fortified houses that were defended by the Corsicans to be attacked, and regularly besieged the towers occupied by Rusticus and his men. The battering-rams and balistæ then in use broke in pieces the columns of the palace of Severus, and shattered the walls by the enormous blocks of stone they discharged against them. Still more violent was the attack on the castle of Saint Angelo, which held within it, in the person of the Pope, the cause and the prize of the war. But the rude machines of that age made but little impression on the solid foundations and massive strength of the ancient tomb of Adrian, that had become by successive additions one of the strongest citadels of the middle

ages. Henry could effect no breach, and would not hazard an assault; and, contenting himself with imprisoning the enemy in his retreat, he invested the fortress by a continuous wall, in the construction of which he made the Romans work.

Meantime, the successes Henry had achieved, and the prospect of his gaining others, created anxiety and disturbance among the Norman princes of Apulia. Besides Robert Guiscard, who had recently returned from Greece with part of his troops, and was engaged in rallying them and adding to their number, were other Norman chiefs, who, either checked by his power or jealous of it, had before their eyes the possibility of another dominion that seemed about to be re-established in Rome. Their Italian subjects appeared to be emboldened by the prospect, and disposed to throw off the yoke of a still recent conquest as soon as they should find the victory of the German Cæsar was complete.

In this anxiety, and in the midst of many perils, some of the chiefs entreated the Abbot Didier to go to the camp of Henry, in Rome, to negotiate in their name, and to effect an alliance with him; but the abbot, who was true at heart to Gregory VII., refused to undertake any mission from the Norman chiefs. Jordan, Prince of Capua, then made a treaty on his own account with Henry; and he bought of him, for a considerable sum of money, the investiture of his principality, which Henry separated from the monastery of Monte-Cassino, to erect it into a fief direct of the Empire.

The German monarch had already manifested this intention. As soon as he was master of the greater

part of Rome, he wrote to the abbot, as to a vassal, to appear before him without delay. The abbot at first abstained from obeying, making no reply. Henry summoned him a second time, in a more imperious letter. The abbot then replied, protesting his fear of the Romans, in whose power his monastery was; and, excusing himself by divers pretexts from coming to the Emperor's camp, he only offered his mediation, if that prince desired to treat with the Pope.

Henry, ill pleased, sent no more messages to the abbot, and enjoined his new ally, Jordan, to threaten the rich monastery of Monte-Cassino by those violences which it is so much more easy to stimulate among greedy soldiers than to repress by the firmness of a few chiefs. Didier, learning these orders, managed to send to Gregory VII., in the castle of Saint Angelo, a letter, in which he entered into all the causes for his alarm, and consulted him, in the name of God, as to what he should do to preserve the monastery.

Gregory, to whom danger never appeared a reason for submitting, did not even reply; and Henry, having again written to the abbot to come to Rome for the Feast of Easter, the day intended for his coronation, the abbot, with many doubts and scruples, complied. He bid adieu to his monks, and arrived without delay at the gates of Rome; that is to say, a villa at Albano, where a portion of Henry's suite resided. But though he had obeyed the orders of the excommunicated prince, the abbot gave not the kiss of peace to either of the bishops, and even refused to eat or drink with them. As soon as Henry heard the abbot had arrived, he sent him word to come and take the oaths of fealty and homage

for his abbey. Didier replied that he would not do it if he were to get the abbey, nor for all the honours in the world. Henry then, relying on his right of investiture, called upon him to come and receive from his hand the pastoral crosier. The abbot, in order to gain a few days, replied that as soon as Henry was Emperor he would either receive the title of Abbot from him or would renounce his abbey. It was in appearance only to defer submission a few days; but doubtless the abbot did not mean during the life and the protestation of Gregory VII. to acknowledge the right of the Anti-Pope Guibert to confer the title of Emperor.

Thus did discussion go on around Henry as to the rights of the two powers. Otho, Bishop of Ostia, the partisan and legate of Gregory VII., finding himself still detained about the Emperor, was less decided in his language, and seemed inclined to meet the prince's views. But Didier repeated haughtily, 'Neither Pope, nor bishop, nor archdeacon, nor anybody else can do that. The chair apostolic is sovereign. It can neither be put in subjection to any, nor be sold like a slave. If the Pope Nicholas did that, he did a wrong and very foolish thing; and the Church must not, on account of human folly, part with its dignity. Not one of us must sacrifice his own by consenting to such a shame; and then it shall no more happen, thanks be to God, that the King of Germany shall make the Pope of Rome.'

The Bishop of Ostia, Otho, without blaming the bishop's zeal, could not refrain from saying, 'If the ultramontanes heard you, they would have but one voice against you.' 'If the whole world,' replied the

abbot, 'were to join against me, it would not change my opinion. The Emperor may triumph for a time, and do violence to the rights of religion, but he will never obtain my consent.' According to the above quoted authority, confirmed, moreover, by Didier himself, he feared not to reproach Guibert himself, and pressed him so closely that the archbishop pleaded in his excuse that he had acted in opposition to his own wishes, and only in defence of the king's cause.

Such were the words spoken by Didier in Henry's camp, just as that prince's coronation had been performed. He repeated them to his brethren the monks, and they were inserted by them in the chronicles of the monastery. However, according to that same chronicle, he obtained from Henry a diploma, sealed with a golden bull, which confirmed the abbey of Monte-Cassino in the inviolable possession of its rich domains. We may perhaps conclude hence that Didier's resistance partially yielded, or possibly Henry's power was not sufficiently confirmed for him to show himself inexorable.

This was, in fact, soon proved by subsequent events. Gregory, besieged on all sides, forsaken even by some of his cardinals, having exhausted the treasures of the Church and despoiled the altars, could only be saved out of the hands of Henry by the prompt arrival of Guiscard. Secret messages were daily transmitted from the castle of Saint Angelo to Salerno; Guiscard was making ready as for a great and difficult enterprise, for both the valour and the power of Henry were well known. The Norman duke had brought together all

his knights who were not serving in the East, numerous Italian levies, and a corps of Arabian auxiliaries whom his brother Roger had sent to him from Sicily.

At length, roused by the extreme danger in which the pontiff was, he unfurled the standard of Saint Peter, and marched forward with all his forces, followed by a pious and unarmed crowd. The Abbot Didier, who had returned to his monastery and was watching every movement, soon had intelligence of Guiscard's preparations, and hastened to send accounts of them both to the Emperor and to the Pope.

On receiving the news, Henry, whose forces had been diminished by the sending away of a portion of the Lombard soldiers, and who felt by no means sure of the faith of the Romans, feared to give battle, with the chance of being pressed by two enemies at once, against such an experienced captain as Guiscard. He decided with regret to draw off from Rome, and recommending the citizens of his party to hold and defend the city, he left it with his army three days before the Normans' arrival, and withdrew first to Castellana, anciently Veii.

Guiscard had sent on before him a body of picked foot soldiers to the number of one thousand, and as many men-at-arms. Then came three thousand men and the Italian levies, and he followed himself with the rest of the army. It is said his forces amounted to 30,000 foot and 6,000 horse. He expected to find Henry's troops drawn up in line of battle in front of the Roman aqueduct, but the enemy having disappeared, he advanced as far as the gate at the entrance of the road to Tusculum; and established his own camp

near the aqueduct. He devoted three days to making observations, and having noticed near the gate of Saint Lawrence a weak and feebly guarded point, he caused it to be escaladed at day-break by a thousand of his soldiers, who thus entering the city with loud cries and shouting the terrible name of Guiscard, broke open the gate of Saint Lawrence, by which the whole army entered.

The duke marched straight to the castle of Saint Angelo, forced the lines, overthrew the rudely constructed walls by which it was invested, and entered the fort as the liberator of the pontiff, who advanced to meet him with his clergy, and gave him absolution from all his sins. With all respect Guiscard conducted the pontiff to the Lateran, as to a place inviolable thenceforth, and, kneeling before him in the midst of the mingled crowd of knights and priests, he presented pious offerings.

Meantime, the Romans, either humbled by their defeat or exasperated by the insolence of the Norman soldiery, took up arms, assembled in the open spaces, and were about to attack the victors; these, all surprised, rose from table, and also flew to arms. Roger, the son of Robert, who was encamped outside the town, came up with a thousand horse; the duke seeing that revolt was bursting forth in many places at once, gave orders to set fire to the city. An entire quarter near the Vatican was soon in flames; the wretched inhabitants fled, and were pitilessly massacred. Guiscard's Normans and Italians, accustomed to pillage, and his Saracens more barbarous still, and filled with fury against the Christian city that was given up to them, committed every

excess, burning and destroying all before them. They violated the virgins in the convents, and the Roman ladies, whose fingers they cut off to get possession of their rings.

In letting loose this flood of rapine and destruction, and permitting his followers to surpass the ravages of Alaric and the Goths, Guiscard called himself the avenger of the Popes ; a chronicler puts into his mouth a very improbable speech, in which he recalls the violence and the revolts of the Romans, against the pontiffs in the early ages of Christianity.

But what seems more likely, is that the duke should say in his wrath that he would exterminate the inhabitants of Rome, and people it with Christians from the other side of the Alps.

Gregory, full of grief and horror and pity, threw himself at Guiscard's feet entreating him to spare the Romans, saying that he was Pope for edification and not for destruction's sake.[1] All the quarter between Saint John's gate and the Lateran was consumed. Guiscard was mollified by the Pope's intervention, and accepted the submission made to him by the party which had taken up arms, and which took the oaths prescribed to them by the pontiff.

Guiscard made them pay heavy fines, and reduced many of them to slavery. In the course of a few days his troops retook all the castles in the neighbourhood of Rome that had revolted against the Pope.

In the midst of this desolation of Rome and the terror inspired by his barbarous allies, Gregory VII.

[1] Anonymous Vaticanus apud Murat. vol. viii. p. 771; Landulph, sen. lib. iv.; apud Murat. vol. iv. p. 120.

nevertheless hastened, with the cardinals and bishops faithful to his cause, to open a council in the Lateran palace, under the protection of the Norman lances still dripping with Roman blood; he solemnly renewed the anathema pronounced on the anti-pope Guibert, the ex-king Henry, and all those who adhered to them or communicated with them; and he nominated two bishops who had returned to him, Otho, Bishop of Ostia, and Peter, Bishop of Albano, to carry this sentence into Germany and France. He even also turned his attention to matters of ecclesiastical discipline. Towards the end of the siege some of the inhabitants of Rome, who were either married or living with women, had cut off their beards and assumed the mitre. They had passed with the Lombards in Henry's army for cardinals; they were, doubtless, for the most part, schismatic priests consecrated by Guibert; and in that character had intruded into the churches in Rome, received offerings and distributed indulgences. In the estimation of Gregory VII. these men were profaners of holy things. He drove them out as being stained with blood, robbery and impurity, and put in their place pious and faithful priests; but this change was not effected without many difficulties and obstacles, which proves that a great number of the Normans had engaged in the cause of the anti-pope and the Emperor.

Gregory, meantime, could not look on himself as settled in peaceable possession of his Church, and as really master of Rome.

The departure of Guiscard was imminent. The Norman chief was impatient to resume his designs on

the East, and to lead to other victories those bands as yet unsated with the pillage of Rome. Perhaps, too, he foresaw and would not await the return of Henry strengthened by the soldiery of Lombardy, and having raised all the north of Italy. And, the Normans departed, Gregory VII. would doubtless decline to remain among the ruin they had worked, to be reproached on all sides with the misery he could do nothing to assuage. It seems likely, too, that the conqueror, unwilling to enfeeble his army by leaving part of it at Rome, regarded, as most important to his own success, that he should carry away with him the Pope he had delivered, and undertake the conquest of the Greek empire with his benediction.

However that may be, eight or ten days after the sack of Rome, the army of Guiscard began its march, carrying away rich spoils and leading captive many Romans. Gregory VII. followed with his chaplains, the abbot Joronto of Dijon, who had been his envoy to Guiscard, and some cardinals and bishops. But many of his old partisans had been dispersed, or had joined Henry's party. The pontifical seal had fallen into the hands of that prince, and he might profit by its possession to propagate false decrees in the name of the besieged or captive Pope. Many confused reports were spread as to what had become of Gregory VII. In this uncertainty his faithful friend Matilda reassembled troops in Tuscany and Lombardy, conceived new hopes, sent her emissaries in all directions, and also wrote to stir up distrust and hatred of Henry in Germany. There remains evidence of this which has escaped notice till

now, and which I am about to cite for the first time. It is a letter of Matilda's, spirited and imperious like herself, and which breathes, together with the ardour of zeal, that conviction of success so natural to the imagination of a woman.[1]

'Matilda, such as she is by the grace of God, if she be anything, to all the faithful residing in the Teutonic kingdom, greeting.

'We would have you to know that Henry, the false king, has stolen the seal of the Lord Pope Gregory. Wherefore, if ye are told anything contrary to the words of our envoys, hold it false, and believe not Henry's lies. Further, he has carried away with him the Bishop of Porto, because that man was once familiar with the Lord Pope. If by his help he should attempt anything with you or against you, be sure this bishop is a false witness, and give no credit to those who shall tell you to the contrary. Know that the Lord Pope has already re-conquered Sutri and Nepi; Barrabas, the robber, that is to say, Henry's pope, has fled like himself. Farewell. Beware of the snares of Henry.'

Those two towns, Sutri and Nepi, at a few leagues

[1] Mathildis Dei gratia, si quid est, omnibus fidelibus in Teutonicorum regno commorantibus salutem. Notum vobis faciamus quod Henricus falsus rex subrepuit sigillum domine papæ Gregorii. Unde si quid audieretis, quod discordet a nostrâ legatione, falsum arbitramini neque mendaciis ejus acquiescatis. Præterea episcopum Portuensem secum ducit, quoniam olim fuit familiaris domini papæ. Si igitur aliquod vobiscum vel contra vos per eum vult operari, eum falsum testem nolite dubitare. Nulli autem creditis qui aliter quam nos dicere audebit. Sciatis dominium papam jam recuperasse Sutrium atque Nepe. Barrabas latro, id est Henrici papa, ipse quoque aufugit. Valete et de insidiis Henrici cauti estote.—*Chronicon Virdunense Hugonis abbatis Flaviniaci, apud Labbeum Nov. Bibliothec. Manuscriptorum*, vol. i. p. 229.

from Rome, were no doubt among the number of those which the Normans had occupied; and in this fact Matilda recognised the victory of Gregory VII., not knowing that the pontiff was to be led far away from his Church by his fierce liberators, more an exile from Rome than Guibert himself.

BOOK X.

1084–1085.

The country round Rome was infested by flying troops detached from Henry's army, and some Roman bands also at first harassed the march of Guiscard. The pontiff proceeded in the midst of this retreating army. On one occasion, that of a hasty departure at daybreak, the Abbot of Dijon and some priests were left behind. While they were making all haste to rejoin the rest, they were attacked and pursued by some Romans; one of the monks was slain by a lance, and his baggage pillaged. The Abbot of Dijon escaped, and, having reached the main body of the army, he kissed the Pope's feet, and told him, with tears, of the death of the unfortunate monk. Gregory immediately despatched some men-at-arms in pursuit of the murderers, and begged them to bring back with them the body of the poor brother.[1] They found the corpse naked and bathed in blood, and in that state it was laid before the Pope. Gregory, touched with compassion, covered it with his own cloak, and, having pronounced absolution, he said a mass for the dead man's soul before he was buried.[2]

[1] Papa directis militibus cum armorum apparatu auctores tanti sceleris persequi, et corpus exanimati fratris ad se præcepit deportari.—*Chron. Virdunense*, p. 230.

[2] Pluviali suo quo indutus erat corpus fratris operiens et absolutionem ei faciens, missam pro defuncto cecinit.—*Idem.*

It was said that this monk had spoken against Gregory VII., and his death seemed to be a punishment from heaven, which made still more striking the care of the pontiff for his lifeless remains.

Guiscard, in his march, first conducted the pontiff to the monastery of Monte-Cassino. There Gregory VII. found himself in a most congenial asylum, in the society of the friend whom he had summoned to Rome on his accession. Miraculous circumstances are said by credulous contemporaries to have marked his sojourn in this abbey. They tell us that, while he was saying mass, a heavenly dove had appeared over his head, and had been seen by one person only, who had first said nothing about it, but, being severely reprimanded in a vision, he published the miracle, which was held to be the visible help of the Holy Spirit, to encourage the Pope to perseverance.

During his stay, Robert Guiscard made some presents to the monastery out of the money of which he had pillaged Rome.[1] He laid down, in the chapter-room, one thousand gold pieces of Amalfi, offered one hundred byzants on the altar, and, on his departure, left one hundred and ninety pieces of other money in the dormitory—so say the chronicles of the convent.

Meantime, the Emperor Henry, in leaving Rome and taking once more the road to Lombardy, intended to recross the mountains and return to Germany. We cannot even doubt that this decision partly influenced

[1] Quando reversus est a Româ cum papâ Gregorio, posuit in Capitulo mille solidos Amalfitinos, et centum byzanteos super altare, et abiens hinc misit centum nonaginta farganas fratribus in dormitorio.—*Chron. Monast. Cas. notis illustrata lib.* iii. *apud Murat.* p. 471.

his precipitate retreat before Guiscard. He was anxious to appease the troubles that had been excited by the coronation of Hermann and the continued revolt of Saxony. He could expect no further results from his expedition to Italy than those he had obtained; he had been acknowledged by the Romans, and crowned at Rome. If he had neither conquered the inflexible firmness of Gregory VII., nor obtained possession of his person, he had at least reduced him to live under the protection of an ally, far from the city in which he had reigned, far from that chair of Saint Peter whence he had fulminated so many anathemas. With these advantages Henry was sufficiently satisfied not to risk a hazardous battle with Guiscard in the endeavour to obtain others. And, on the other side, the Norman chief, satisfied with being at once the liberator and the guardian of the Pope, and full of his expedition to the East, cared little to pursue Henry, and to diminish, in a useless battle, those forces he intended to employ elsewhere. Thus the two armies did not meet, because their leaders had something better to do.

Henry, however, tried to conceal all that was likely to produce an unfavourable impression in regard to his retreat; he mentioned, in his letters to Germany, the consecration of Guibert and his own coronation only, taking no notice of the arrival of Guiscard and the deliverance of Gregory VII. At the same time he gave a hint of his speedy return to Germany, in proof, as it were, of the complete success of his expedition.

These different views are more clearly indicated in a letter of his than in the pages of history, the said letter having been addressed by him, during his forced marches

to Lombardy, to Thierry, Bishop of Verdun, an influential prelate, whose confidence he desired to retain and whose zeal he was anxious to keep alive.

'Henry, by the grace of God, Emperor of the Romans, to Thierry, his dearest friend.

'We desire, in the first place, to assure thee that we esteem none before thyself, and that we have sent to thee the Archbishop of Utrecht, less to stimulate thy affection than to associate him in thy undertakings for the king's honour.

'We desire, in the next place, to give to thee distinct but very brief replies to the various questions thou hast asked, reserving the details to be discussed in a *tête-à-tête*. We will first speak on the subject thou hast mentioned in the beginning of thy letter—Rome. We entered the city on Saint Benedict's day. We suppose thou must have learned from other sources in what manner we were received by the Romans, on what footing we are with the Romans, and in what way we have quitted the Romans. We have, however, told thee all this in letters which thou hast not perhaps yet received; but we should like thee to hear from other lips than ours the wonders the Lord has done for us. It is scarcely credible, but at the same time most true, that what took place at Rome, and what the Lord did for us with ten men, would have been counted miraculous if our ancestors had accomplished it with ten thousand.

'In fact, at the very moment when we, despairing of getting possession of the city, were thinking of returning to our German provinces, the citizens sent us an embassy, entreating us to enter Rome, and promising

to obey us in all things; and that promise they have kept. They received us on our entrance with great joy, they aided us during our stay with great zeal, and they faithfully and triumphantly accompanied us beyond the city on our departure; so that we can confidently declare before God that Rome is in our hands, with the exception of that fortress, the former retreat of Crescentius, in which Hildebrand is shut up. And we would have him to know that, by the lawful judgment of all the cardinals and of the Roman people, he is deposed, and that our chosen, the Pope Clement, has been raised to the Apostolic See by the acclamations of all Rome; and that we were, by the hands of Clement and with the consent of all the Romans, crowned on the most holy day of Easter by the title of Emperor, and to the great joy of all the people of Rome.

'That done, with the blessing of God and Saint Peter, we quitted Rome, and we are making all haste to reach your country. Your message met us on the way. Let each one receive the news with grief or joy as he pleases, we are coming with the favour of God, and with no care for what the man called Hildebrand may think proper to do. As to those Saxons, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Count Adalbert, and others who are disposed to return to us, we answer thee that we are ready to be guided by thy counsels, provided only that peace be secured; that is to say, that having once returned to us, they remain faithful.

'As to thyself, if thou hast no great reluctance to do what we desire, we should wish thee to come to us at Augsburg immediately after the Feast of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, because on that day, by

God's help, we shall be at Ratisbon; come, then, and give us the pleasure of seeing you. In conclusion, the Apostolic Father Clement, as well as the Emperor Henry, beg thee to consecrate the Archbishop of Treves very speedily. Adieu.'

We see from this letter what was the zeal of a portion of the German episcopate for the monarch of whom these bishops held their dignities; we have, too, in the ambiguous expressions chosen by Henry, and his absolute silence as to the presence of the army of Guiscard, a proof that the insufficiency of his own troops had made his retreat inevitable. He affects to say that he did not conquer Rome, but that he entered it with scarcely any soldiers, and by the wish of the Romans themselves. One would say that he sought at the same time to furnish an excuse for his retreat, and to imply that his coronation fully received the popular sanction.

The prelate to whom Henry addressed this communication, and who for thirty years had presided over the powerful diocese of Verdun, had in the first period of his episcopate made the then very dangerous pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On his return, he had magnificently restored the church of Verdun, which had been burnt during the civil wars in Flanders; and by his pious authority he had compelled the Duke Gottfried, who was the author of these violences, to contribute to the expense of the rebuilding of the church, and to serve the masons, on his knees, with stones and mortar.

This triumph had made the bishop celebrated. More than once he had paid a visit to Rome, and was numbered among its faithful adherents up to the day when

the breach with Henry took place. But then he inclined toward that prince; and though he was not as yet opposed to Gregory, yet he was no friend to Rudolph, and his mediation, and his private information, had continued to serve Henry all through the war, and during that prince's two expeditions into Italy. He still, however, respected the pontiff, and hesitated to separate from him; he would have liked to have had his approval in the fulfilment of Henry's wishes.

As soon, then, as he received that prince's letter, and his exhortation to proceed to the consecration of the Bishop of Treves, he wrote to Gregory VII. to obtain leave to do what the Emperor ordered. Nothing, perhaps, better displays the genius of the pontiff and the influence of his cause, than the ascendancy he always preserved over a portion of his adversaries, than that deference which always secured him more support than schism or victory could take away. Feeling, then, some doubt as to successes proclaimed by Henry, and not daring, for all his offers, to defy the pontifical interdiction by consecrating the Archbishop of Treves, Thierry addressed himself to Gregory VII. as if he were still in peaceable possession of Rome and the undisputed head of the Church.

'To Gregory, sovereign Pontiff, beloved and most venerated father, from Thierry, Bishop of Verdun, his devoted servant, his filial affection as to his father, his submission as to his chief, his obedience as to his master.

'To obey thee is a great happiness for me; to serve thee a great joy. In the homage I offer thee I honour, in fact, blessed Peter; in the obedience I

show thee, and by the service I render thee, I shall win the favour of the blessed apostle to myself.

'According to thy directions, I welcomed my brother, the Bishop of Metz, as I should have welcomed thyself. Remember the words of the Lord—*Whoso receiveth you, receiveth me.* I made his cause mine, his affairs mine, sharing alike his prosperity and his adversity. I was led to that by mutual brotherhood and duty, but more especially by thy wishes, by thy kindness, and by thy confidence in me. And now the Church of Treves, bending under the weight of her affliction, prostrates herself at thy feet. As a disinherited daughter, she invokes her master's consolation; a widow for nearly two years, she laments, through me, over all she has suffered in her widowhood, all she still suffers from disputes without and fears within. She has selected for her head a man of the people, a worthy priest, supported by the general voice; and to this my conscience bears witness, before God and before thee—there has been no simony against the right of the Church, not even the simony of asking for the bishopric.'

Henry only remained in Lombardy as long as was necessary to give the bishops and counts of his party orders to assemble their troops, and send his army into the territory of Modena, to besiege the castle of Sorbara, one of Matilda's fortresses. But the Italian troops, deprived of the support of the Germans, whom the Emperor led over the mountains with him, could not contend with advantage against the better disciplined forces of the intrepid Countess. Matilda having learned that the army besieging Sorbara was negligently guarded, gave orders for attacking it in the night, and gained a

complete victory. Eberhard, Bishop of Parma, six captains, one hundred of the young Lombard nobles, five hundred horses and a great quantity of armour, the baggage and tents, were taken by Matilda's soldiers. The German general, the Margrave Wobert, withdrew, badly wounded; and the Bishop of Reggio fled, half naked, from the fight. This victory secured Matilda's tranquillity in Lombardy; but Guibert, who had at first followed Henry's retreat, had returned to Rome with some troops, and being well received by the Romans, who were exasperated at the burning of their city, he had taken possession of the Chair Apostolic, under the name of Clement.

Meantime, after a few days' rest accorded to the pontiff at Monte-Cassino, during which the monks showed him every mark of affection, Duke Robert quitted that peaceful retreat, to continue his preparations for his new war, conducting in great pomp his host or captive to Salerno, his own newly-made capital. It was a great spectacle to behold the Holy Father brought from Rome into the chief city of the Norman conquests. By a strange coincidence, there was in the train of the Pope, among the few noble Romans attached to his cause, the Prince of Salerno, that Gisulph, who, having been dethroned by Guiscard, had taken refuge in the Roman States, and been invested by the Holy See with a fief from whence he was again driven away by the Normans.

Robert Guiscard did not perceive this former rival, who had been twice despoiled by him, in the crowd. But the Italians looked on Gregory VII. with pious enthusiasm. To his anathemas they attributed the

precipitate retreat of the King of Germany; and his presence in the army of Guiscard appeared to them the crowning triumph of the Norman prince, and the augury of his approaching conquest. Nevertheless, some discordant voices joined with this public enthusiasm. As the Pope entered the principal street of Salerno, a man cried out, 'Here comes this disturber, who has filled the world with war, and now he is come to trouble our peace!' The speaker was instantly seized, as guilty of sacrilege, and dragged before Gregory VII. As he was all trembling and speechless with fright, it was given out that he had been struck dumb; and as the Pope caused him to be set free, spoke to him with gentleness, and received from him many and eager thanks, it was added that the sinner had miraculously recovered the use of his speech, as the recompense of his repentance.

The Bishop of Salerno, with all his clergy, came out in solemn procession to meet the pontiff. The bishop was very learned, was one of Gregory's greatest admirers, and had composed a hymn in his praise on the opening of the war with Henry.

'How great,' said he, 'is the power of the anathema! All that Marius, all that Cæsar did aforetime at the sacrifice of so many lives, thou dost with a few words. Did Rome ever owe to the Scipios, or any other Romans, more than she does to thee, who hast again shown her the way to power?' [1]

[1] Quanta vis anathematis!
Quidquid et Marius prius
Quodque Julius egerant,
Maximâ nece militum
Voce tu modica facis.
Roma quid Scipionibus
Cæterisque Quiritibus
Debui mage, quam tibi
Cujus est studiis suæ
Nacta via potentiæ?
Italia sacra, vol. 10 p. 78.

These pompous expressions no longer applied with truth to Gregory VII., flying from Rome, under the protection of Guiscard; but, in the belief of the times, they perhaps seemed to be justified by the withdrawal of Henry from Rome, and the news of his retreat beyond the Alps.

Gregory VII. was lodged in a palace of the city, and from that time the Abbot of Monte-Cassino took care liberally to supply the wants of the pontiff and his priests, for Gregory VII. had brought nothing with him from the treasury of the Roman Church, exhausted as it had been by a long war; and Robert Guiscard, though most courteous to the illustrious visitor or captive, whom he was proud to have at Salerno, reserved all his riches for the war with the East. All things conspired to hasten his return thither. During his absence, his son Boemond had been attacked by a new army of the Greek Empire, and had gained a great victory over it, which the imaginations of contemporary writers have thought proper to date the very day of Guiscard's entry into Rome. But this success itself had weakened the Normans, who had been three years on Grecian soil, and whose numbers had been greatly reduced by fatigue and sickness.

The Greek Emperor had endeavoured to repair, by stratagem and seduction, the reverse that had attended his army. He had gained over some of the Norman captains; many of the rest bitterly complained of the sufferings they had to endure, and of the non-arrival of their pay; and the whole army was discontented and ready to disband itself. In these circumstances, the valiant Boemond thought it necessary to go himself and hasten the succours his father had promised him

and he landed on the coast of Apulia soon after the arrival of Guiscard and the Pope at Salerno.

During the last three years, the vast correspondence which Gregory VII. kept up throughout Europe had been greatly restricted, both by the state of war and by Henry's appearance at Rome; and it is to this circumstance we must attribute the great blank that we meet with at this period in the important collection of Gregory's letters, which is at the same time the only trace of injury inflicted on the pontifical power by the terrible struggle. The legates of the Pope and his apostolic instructions did not, as before, reach all the churches of Christendom.

In many parts of France and Germany there was a vague impression that a new Pope had succeeded to Gregory VII. whose powerful hand was no longer stretched out to humiliate the great and to reform the sinful. Many monasteries were divided, the brethren being partisans, some of the new Pope, some of the old one; many bishops who had been deposed, or under censure, retook possession of their sees under favour of these disorders. The brief synod held by Gregory, with Henry's consent, in the November of 1083, had not opened to the faithful beyond the mountains the roads to Rome, which were closed against them by Henry's armies. Rome seemed to have been long wrapped in a thick cloud, whence no longer issued those apostolic thunderbolts that smote kings and nobles.

Therefore, as soon as Gregory VII. found himself in peace at Salerno, he turned his attention to sending to distant regions words of consolation and hope to all who were still faithful to the Roman Church. He confided

his message to Peter Igneus, Bishop of Albano, and the Duke Gisulph, who was out of place in that city of Salerno, where he had once reigned. He joined with them his faithful envoy, the Abbot Joronto, who was all impatient once more to see his monastery at Dijon. He gave them orders to go to Cluny, and to circulate everywhere a letter addressed to all the faithful who truly loved the Holy See.

In that letter Gregory VII. spoke not of his departure from Rome, or of his retreat to Salerno, or of the help he had received from Guiscard; he confined himself to deploring the afflictions of the Church, and to setting forth his own constancy.

'The princes of the nations,' wrote he, 'with the captains and priests at the head of a great multitude, rose up against Christ, the Son of God, and against Peter, his apostle, to put down the Christian religion, and to propagate heresy. But, by the grace of God, they have not been able by any temptation, by any promise of worldly glory, to gain over those who trust in the Lord. They had, indeed, but one reason for conspiring against us—that we would not keep silence as to the peril of the Holy Church, or give way to those who did not blush to put her under servitude. Truly, all over the world, the poorest woman is allowed, by the laws of the country and with their sanction, to have one lawful husband; and the Holy Church, who is the spouse of God and our Mother, was not to be allowed, by the detestable assumptions of these impious men, to unite herself lawfully to her divine husband! We could not permit the sons of that Holy Church to have usurpers and adulterers for their fathers, that so their

birth should be stained with bastardy. How, thence, have come the many evils, the various dangers, the unheard-of crimes of this cruel war, you may clearly learn from our legates by their true account of the same; and if you be really afflicted at the destruction and overthrow of the Christian religion, and if, touched with true compassion, you be willing to stretch out a helping hand, you may hear from their lips how to do so, for they are all most faithful to blessed Peter, and counted, each according to his rank, among the familiars of his household. Neither fear, nor temporal promises, have been able to divide them from the faith which is due to him, and to separate them from the bosom of the Church.

'For the rest, your fraternity knows what was said on the mountain to our unworthy servant, and, moreover, these words of the prophet, "Cry aloud, and spare not." And so I, with all my power and with all my strength, laying aside all shame, all affection, and all fear, evangelize, and cry aloud and without ceasing; and I tell you that the Christian religion, that the true faith that was taught to our fathers by the Son of God who came down from heaven, is at this day transformed into a secular custom—reduced almost to nothing, and become the derision, not only of the devil, but of Jews, Saracens, and Pagans.'

To these vehement expressions the pontiff adds, that since the time of Constantine the Great, the devil had never had so much power against the Church, and that there was no reason to be surprised, for that the time of Antichrist was drawing nigh. These three legates to whom was entrusted this letter, which they were com-

missioned to propagate and enlarge upon in France and in some of the provinces of Germany, embarked at Salerno, not daring to venture on the journey by land through the countries infested by the enemy. After a trying voyage, they landed near Saint-Gilles, on the coast of Provence; but we find but few details of their mission, of which Gregory VII. did not live long enough to see the result.

Guiscard passed two months in Apulia, in order to reduce to obedience, and to levy heavy exactions on those Lombard or Norman seigneurs who had left his cause and received investiture from Henry. His own nephew, Jordan, Prince of Capua, who had thus committed himself, was forced by him to beg pardon of the Pope. The Norman duke desired to make the pontiff, who was in his power, formidable even in his own nation. During some years, Guiscard had been engaged in building in Salerno a church consecrated to Saint Matthew, whose body, it was said, had been found. Before returning to the East, he entreated the Pope to dedicate this church. Gregory VII. complied, and the ceremony was performed with great pomp, to bless, as it were, the arms that Guiscard was about to bear to Greece. The Norman hero kept only a small piece of Saint Matthew's arm as a relic, which he meant to carry with him on his expedition in a golden casket.

In the month of September, 1084, Guiscard set sail with a hundred ships and a great many transports, laden with provisions, arms, and horses. He took with him his four sons, Boemond, Roger, Robert, and Guy; his wife, Sigelgaide, was soon to follow. One may almost conclude that he considered the obedience of his

home possessions sufficiently insured by the presence of Gregory VII. at Salerno, and that he hoped there to receive from his hand, the crown he was going forth to win in the East.

The renewed absence of Guiscard left the Pope without any hope of speedily returning to Rome. The anti-pope, Guibert, had just entered the city, and been favourably received by the greater number of the inhabitants. Gregory VII. saw nothing before him but a prolonged exile in Salerno, while his powerful vassal was pursuing uncertain enterprises afar. The schismatics were as powerful as ever in Lombardy; and Henry, who had been obliged to leave Italy as Gregory had been obliged to leave Rome, was occupied in establishing his authority in Germany. There no longer came from every kingdom, Christian pilgrims to the feet of the Holy Father, who had taken refuge in a town of Apulia.

Thus, during his residence at Salerno, as during the siege of Rome, the correspondence of the pontiff with Christian lands was suspended, or at least there remain but very few traces of it. The genius of Gregory VII., formerly so active, so indefatigable, remained unprofitable in Salerno. In order to recall in some degree the splendour of the Church of Rome, and to supply the absence of his cardinals, now dispersed, the pontiff had selected twelve priests of the church of Salerno, on whom he bestowed the title of Cardinals. He passed his days in prayer with them, going sometimes to the church to preach to the people of Salerno.

Guiscard's new expedition, having directed its course towards Corfu, soon fell in with the Greek fleet, which

was strengthened by nine large vessels from Venice. The skill of the Venetians, and the superior elevation of their ships, at first gave them the advantage in two successive engagements. The duke's son Roger was wounded; but Guiscard, having renewed the attack, and opposed a portion of his fleet to the smaller ships of the Greeks, which it easily dispersed, separated the Venetians from their allies, and conquered them in a final engagement, taking seven of their ships.

It was a great victory: some thousands of Greeks perished. Guiscard landed in Corfu with two thousand prisoners. The garrison he had left, and which, pressed on all sides, had suffered all the horrors of a long siege, was saved. The terror of the Norman arms once more spread through the Greek Archipelago, and the road to Constantinople again lay open to the conqueror.

But the approach of winter obliged the Norman duke to suspend the maritime portion of his operations, and to seek shelter in some well-chosen harbour for his fleet and the captures he had made. He selected the coast of Albania, to the south-east of Corfu, and made his frail vessels enter the river Glissias, which there falls into the Mediterranean; then, leaving on board a sufficient number of men to manœuvre and guard the ships, he, with his knights and his best troops, encamped at Bonditia on the shore.

The rigour of the winter, the poverty and hostility of the inhabitants, and the scarcity of provisions, rendered this encampment disastrous to Guiscard. An infectious sickness broke out in his army, and in the course of three months ten thousand of his Italians and five hundred Norman men-at-arms perished. His son,

the valiant Boemond, who, suffering from an old wound, was attacked by the fever that was ravaging the army, either asked leave of absence, or was sent by his father to Salerno, to have the aid of the doctors.

To these vexations and misfortunes was joined grievous distrust in the family and under the very tent of Guiscard. Boemond, son of his first wife, and Roger, the eldest son of Sigelgaide, were enemies, and struggled together for the upper hand under their father's very eyes. The Norman knights had their suspicions of the Lombards in the queen's suite; and, after the departure of Boemond, they accused the princess of having sent to the physicians of Salerno a poison potion, to be given to the hero, whom she detested both in her quality of foreigner and of step-mother.

Boemond, finding himself grow worse on his arrival in Italy, had sent his father a mournful message to which the uneasiness of Guiscard gave a deeper meaning. Instantly summoning Sigelgaide to his tent, he said to her in a terrible voice, 'Woman, tell me where you stand, is my son Boemond dead or alive?' 'My lord, I know not,' said Sigelgaide, trembling. Then Guisland called out, 'Bring hither my sword and the Gospels,' and laying his hand on the book, said, 'Now hear me, Sigelgaide. I swear to God on the Holy Gospels, that if my son dies of the sickness which is consuming him, I will kill thee with this sword.' It was said among the soldiers, and long after repeated through the cities of Italy, that the terrified princess, who was not less skilled in the composition of antidotes than of poisons, sent to the physicians wherewith to cure the wasting sickness that was leading Boemond to death.

These sinister stories, which had their origin, as we have said, in Guiscard's tent, and which so troubled his peace, attest the distrust with which the still rugged conqueror of Apulia regarded the more polished and sedentary life of the Italians and Lombards who had previously subdued it. In the ignorance of the middle ages, Salerno enjoyed a high reputation for the study of medicine. Some imperfect notions of the art, which had been derived from the Arabians and the ancient Greeks, had been preserved in the most noble families, who, in their humiliation under new masters, derived honour from their acquaintance with this mysterious science. At Salerno there dwelt at this time a learned man, Constantine, surnamed Africanus, who, after having travelled in Persia, Arabia, and India, had composed divers medical treatises, principally extracted from the Oriental writers. This knowledge was feared by the Normans as a kind of magic; and we can conceive their distrust of it in the hands of Sigelgaide, whose Lombard blood, haughty temper, and whose son's interests, joined to Guiscard's want of confidence in her, and her own fear of him, combined to constitute a terrible domestic enemy.

Meantime Gregory VII. was languishing at Salerno. The great projects he had conceived for the reform of the clergy and the liberty of the Church, were interrupted, and, as it were, cut short by the victorious return of Henry IV. to Germany, and the intrusion of Guibert into Rome. News came to him of the deposition and exile of the most faithful and last defenders of his cause, Herimann, Bishop of Metz, the Bishop of Wurzburg,—in a word, of all the German prelates

who would not acknowledge the new Pope. He had seen with grief the forced retreat of Matilda, whom he always called the daughter of Saint Peter, and who still continued to hold his banner aloft in Lombardy. Thedald, Archbishop of Milan, and some other schismatics and servile prelates and seigneurs of the same party, had died in the year of Henry's triumph; and in Modena, Reggio, and Pistoja, the great Countess had recovered her power and maintained the authority of the Pope. But far from her, from Anselm of Lucca and his most faithful friends, and often uncertain as to their fate, Gregory VII. was kept in a foreign town, among those Normans of whose coarse manners and rapacious instincts he had so often complained. Dependent on their chief, not very sure of his gratitude, uncertain of the time of his return, and of the ambition or the successes he might then be called on to sanction, his days passed on wearily.

About the time when Guiscard was preparing to quit his fatal winter quarters, and during the return and sickness of Boemond, the pontiff, who was already aged, appeared daily to grow weaker. Though quite resigned, he had recourse to the physicians when he felt himself becoming worse, and was anxious to get well.[1] At times his sufferings appeared to him a precious pledge of eternal happiness, and he was confirmed in that impression by a celestial vision. At other times he would say that he should recover. But he grew weaker and weaker, and saw he was about to die. Having gone in the month of May to the newly-built

[1] Infirmitatis suæ à medicis medicamentum expetens.—*Dom. Bouquet*, vol. viii. p. 726.

church of Saint Martin, he returned exhausted, and never got up again. Surrounded by his cardinals, bishops, and priests, he received the last sacraments. The Abbot Didier, who had hastened to him, remained. He was not, however, present in the Pope's last moments, for he received the intelligence that a castle which was a dependency of his monastery was being besieged by some Norman seigneurs, and sorrowfully asked leave to go and succour it.

The cardinals and bishops who remained with Gregory began to praise the holiness of his life, but he said to them, 'My brothers, I set no value on my labours. My only ground of confidence is that I have always loved justice and hated iniquity.' As they then deplored the danger in which they should be after his death, he stretched out his hands to heaven as if to ascend thither, and said, 'I shall be there, and by my earnest prayers I will recommend you to the protection of God.' They then entreated him, in the confusion in which the faithful were, to name his own successor, and the defender of the Church against the adulterer Guibert. He gave them the choice between the Cardinal Didier, Abbot of Monte-Cassino; Otho, Bishop of Ostia; and Hugh, Bishop of Lyons; but as Otho was detained in Germany by the duties of his legation, and Hugh was engaged in his distant diocese, he counselled them to fix on the Abbot Didier, who was on the spot; 'though,' said he, 'he will live but a short time.' They then asked him to show them what he decreed in regard to those who were under excommunication,—whether he would make any exemptions. He replied, 'With the exception of the King Henry and Guibert,

the usurper of the Apostolic See, and the principal persons who by word and deed have abetted their wickedness and impiety, I absolve and bless all those who freely believe that I have the power so to do, as the Vicar of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.' [1]

Such was most certainly his reply; for no one can believe what a German chronicler says, that in his last sickness Gregory sent for one of his cardinals, and confessed to him that he had troubled the Church and stirred up wars; that he begged him to ask the Emperor's prayers for his soul; and, finally, that he retracted all the excommunications he had pronounced against his enemies, secular or clerical. No; the inflexible Pontiff never thus failed in his constancy at the very moment when he thought he was going to receive its reward; and this account of a contemporary only shows what value would have been attached in the court of Henry the Conqueror to the recantation of the fugitive and dying Pontiff. On the contrary, Gregory VII.'s last moments were devoted to secure, as far as in him lay, a successor in the pontifical chair who would carry out his designs as the opponent of imperial investiture. In his instructions to those present he said repeatedly, on the part of God and by the authority of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, 'I charge you to acknowledge as Pontiff of Rome none who has not been canonically elected according to the rules of the holy Fathers.' And in

[1] Præter Henricum regem dictum . . . . omnes absolvo et benedico, quicumque me hanc habere specialem potestatem in vocem apostolorum Petri et Pauli credunt indubitanter.—*Paulus Bernriendensis*, cap. xii.; Baronius, *Annal.* vol. xvii. p. 566.

his very last moments his dying words were, 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile.'[1] One of the bishops who was present with the Pope's chaplains exclaimed with pious enthusiasm, 'How canst thou say, lord, that thou diest in exile, since, as the Vicar of Christ and the Apostles, thou hast received all the nations of the earth as thy inheritance, and the universe for thy dominion?'

Gregory expired as he heard these words so worthy of him; we know not the name of the man who pronounced them; he was one of the bishops who was present with the Pope's chaplain,—an obscure priest, perhaps, but whose lips were touched with living fire as he knelt at the Pontiff's death-bed. The day of his death was the 25th of May, 1085. He had filled the pontifical chair twelve years and some months, and must have been about seventy years of age. According to his wish his mitre was sent as a souvenir to Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, Matilda's spiritual adviser. His body, clad in the pontifical vestments, was interred with great pomp in the basilica of Saint Matthew, which he had recently dedicated; and a marble tomb was erected to his memory.

All Italy was filled with consternation at the news of his death. When it reached Guiscard, who after his last victory had made a descent on the island of Cephalonia, he shed tears; he seemed, says his contemporary, as grieved as if he had lost his wife and his son. Guiscard's sorrow for the Pope's death, says the

[1] Ubi vero in extremo positus est, ultima verba ejus hæc fuerunt: 'Dilexi justitiam et odi iniquitatem: propterea morior in exilio.'—*Paul. Bernriendensis*, cap. xii.; Baronius, vol. xvii. p. 565.

same witness, was great, because a great friendship had united them ; never had either fallen back from the affection which at the treaty of peace they had pledged to each other.

We can in fact easily believe that, notwithstanding the difference of occupation and position, two such haughty spirits would sympathize. The ambitious Guiscard regretted in the Pontiff the loss of a powerful ally in his vast designs, an auxiliary of his power in Italy, a consecrator of the throne he was seeking in the East. But Guiscard himself was drawing near to the end of his projects and of his life. He was seized with an infectious fever at the moment he was about to rejoin his encampment in Albania to march upon Constantinople, and died in the island of Cephalonia, in the arms of his son Roger and his wife Sigelgaide, the rival, and the stepmother, of Boemond. All the members of the expedition, the sailors and soldiers who had landed in Cephalonia, and the entrenched camp on the coast of Epirus, were stricken down by this loss, which was accompanied by sinister rumours. The Normans suspected Sigelgaide of having destroyed by poison the glorious husband whose anger she feared. Eager to fly from the fatal spot, and to carry to Italy the body of Guiscard, she embarked with the sad burden in the lightest vessel of the fleet, while her son Roger went to Albania to receive the oaths of the troops, and to hasten their return. That precaution taken, he immediately rejoined the rest of the army in Cephalonia, and commenced his retreat.

In the trouble into which the Normans were thrown by the death of their chief, this retreat was like a rout.

These victors of yesterday all wanted to embark at once. Confusedly crowding together, they entreated the sailors to take them on board; and, leaving their baggage and horses behind, they thronged the ships. Those who could not find room in them, gave themselves up in despair as prisoners to the Greeks of the island.

The army that was thus forsaking its conquests, had to encounter all the hazards of a difficult navigation in a stormy sea. Many of the over-crowded vessels were lost. The galley that was the first to leave, with Sigelgaide and the body of Guiscard, went to pieces on the shore of Apulia, and the coffin containing the hero's remains was with difficulty saved. The body, carefully embalmed, was taken to Venusa, and interred in a monastery that had been founded by Guiscard. In that same town of Venusa, says a chronicler of the twelfth century, was buried the poet Horace, in an ancient tower close to the ramparts.

The death of Gregory VII., so closely followed by that of Guiscard, left the affairs of the Church in a very unsettled state, and seemed to insure Henry's power. That Prince was victorious in Germany, and had recovered part of Saxony; Lombardy, which had been desolated by a plague and a famine, the consequences of the last war, remained subject to the Empire; Matilda, prostrated by the death of Gregory, lay sick and languishing; and the new Duke of the Normans, Roger, was wholly occupied in endeavouring to exclude his brother Boemond from the succession, that he alone might reign in Calabria and Apulia.

The few cardinals and bishops who were present at

the death of Gregory VII. had in vain besought the Abbot Didier to receive the pontificate. He either shrank from the burden, or had made up his mind to accept it only with the Emperor's consent, and so to abandon the cause for which Gregory had fought and suffered. And herein we see clearly what great things the Pontiff had achieved, and what power he exercised over the consciences of men. After a pontifical interregnum of a year, Guibert still occupying one part of Rome, as no legitimate election could be completed, Didier was at last elected against Guibert and against Henry, by the exertions of that Gisulph, formerly Prince of Salerno, who had been received and sheltered by Gregory VII.; and by his help the new Pope was also established in another part of the city, and was enthroned under the name of Victor III.

He died a few months after his elevation, and was succeeded by another of those who, Gregory VII. in his last hours had nominated, by Otho, Bishop of Ostia, his faithful legate, the confidant of his thoughts, and, the executor, under the title of Urban II., of his cherished design, the Crusade, which, ten years after his patron's death, he preached at the Council of Clermont.

Before this memorable undertaking, and while, in the disturbed state of Italy, the anti-pope Guibert still had a garrison in Rome, Urban II. had hastened to confer great privileges on the Church of Salerno, because, as he says in his pontifical decree, it had been honoured by being the place of exile and of the death of Gregory VII., 'whose eminent virtues, pure doctrine, and admirable constancy are extolled by the Church of Rome, acknow-

ledged by all the West, and attested by the humiliation of tyrants.'

After a pontificate of fourteen years, which was signalized by the first crusade, Urban II. was succeeded by another disciple of Gregory VII., who had been a monk of Cluny, whom he had himself made Abbot of St. Paul's and a cardinal,[1] and who, faithful to the example he had set, was one day to see the Emperor Henry lay at his feet the ensigns of royalty, and submit at last to the dethronement against which he had for forty years contended.

Thus were the designs of Gregory VII. slowly accomplished on his persecutor's head. The dying Pontiff had left his curse on the king of Germany. It was to confide the anathema of religion to the impetuous keeping of human passion. By the jealous dissent of the Lombard cities from Rome, by his victorious return to Germany, by the defeat of his competitor, Herimann, by the gradual pacification of the revolted provinces, by the death of Gregory VII., almost immediately followed by that of Guiscard, Henry's power appeared to be re-established, and if he had not triumphed over the Church, he still appeared unconquered by it. But Henry's faults, the licentiousness of his youth, his oppressions and his extortions apart, a powerful principle was in action against him. It was that principle of the spiritual order which Gregory VII. called the liberty of the Church. Too often mixed up with human interests, this principle raised up enemies to Henry in his own family. The infant that lay in the arms of the Empress Bertha, when she, in a frail sledge, crossed the Alps in

[1] Pascal, ii. Tr.

company with Henry in the bitter winter of 1078, rose up twenty-five years afterwards against his father, and deprived him of Lombardy. The young prince, Conrad by name, succeeding to the large possessions of Adelaide, Countess of Turin, who had formerly been so zealous in the cause of Gregory VII., adopted, after both were dead, the cause they had defended, and placed himself under the protection of Matilda, to use the words of her chaplain. He was proclaimed King of Italy, and crowned by Anselm of Lucca, in the church of Saint Ambrose at Milan; but he did not enjoy the fruits of his treason. His father was still able to depose him, and to put his second son in his place. But this only produced new troubles, for he found in this son an impatient successor, before whom he laid down his arms, and to whom he at last abandoned the throne.

Never in the course of history, has human pride and the abuse of power, the combination of tyranny and weakness, been punished by more cruel humiliation; and we cannot be surprised that by the pontifical party the domestic sorrows that fell on Henry, in his old age, were considered as a tardy expiation due to the anathemas under which he lay. However that may be, nothing can give a better picture of the king's affliction than an original document of the time, but which has been passed over by history—the letter written by the unhappy emperor to Louis le Jeune, King of France, whose assistance he sought, without daring to complain against Rome.

'Henry, Roman Emperor, Augustus, to Louis, King of the Franks, the crown of fidelity constancy and inviolable affection.

'Most illustrious Prince, the most faithful of those in whom we hope after God, I have chosen you as the first before whom to deplore all my sorrows and to whom I would kneel if I could consistently with the majesty of the Empire; first, because we think it an odious thing, intolerable not only to you, but to all Christian men, that from the Apostolic See from which till our time there came nothing but fruits of consolation, sweetness, and salvation for souls, there come now only the arrows of vengeance, anathema, and perdition; no limit being set to the execution of these decrees, so long as a cruel determination remains unsatisfied.

'They are so intent now on working their will that, paying no heed to God, or to the evil they may bring on themselves and others, they rise up against us, while I, on the contrary, have often offered to submit myself to the Apostolic See if the honour and respect that has been rendered to my predecessors were rendered to me. What they require I will explain to you whenever God shall grant me an interview I so much desire.

'In their hatred and desire of vengeance, seeing that they made but little way, they, assailing the rights of nature herself, a thing I cannot tell without deep grief and many tears, and what I shudder to hear said, my son, my darling Absolom, have they stirred up against me, and have inspired him with such fury, that in contempt of the oath and faith he had sworn, as a vassal to his lord, he has invaded my kingdom, deposed my bishops and abbots, abetted my enemies and persecutors, and lastly, what I would fain conceal, what I would have none believe, casting off all natural affection, he has con-

spired against my life and soul, and has had no scruple to employ any means, either by force or fraud, to arrive at the depth of infamy.

'In the midst of these sinful machinations, I remained in a sort of peaceful security as to my safety, when about the time of the coming of Our Lord, he invited me to a conference in a place called Coblentz; he invited me as a son who desired to converse with a father, on matters of mutual honour and welfare. As soon as I saw him, touched all of a sudden by paternal affection and sorrow of heart, I fell at his feet, conjuring him by the salvation of his soul, if I were to be punished for my sins, not to stain his honour by his conduct towards me, for that no law, human or divine, obliged a son to punish the faults of a father. Then he, too well, or rather too miserably, taught to deceive, inveighing against such a thing as an abominable crime, threw himself at my feet, begging pardon for the past, and promising that for the future he would obey me faithfully and truthfully in all things, as a man-of-arms to his seigneur, as a son to his father, if only I would be reconciled to the Holy Apostolic See. I eagerly consented, with no other condition than that the affair should be submitted to a council of the princes, adding that he had only to conduct me to Mayence during the present Christmas fêtes, and to treat there loyally for my honour and my reconciliation, and then to bring me back in peace and security; and this he promised in the name of that faith which prescribes to a son to honour the father, and to the father to love his son.

'On the faith of this engagement, which a very pagan would have kept, I set out for Mayence, my son having

gone on before. However, some of my faithful friends came to meet me, declaring, with only too much truth, that I had been deceived and betrayed, under a false pledge of peace and affection.

'I called my son to my presence, and when I entreated him to tell me the truth, he renewed his oath, swearing a second time that he pledged his own life for mine. I was then arrived at a town called Bingen; it was the Friday before Christmas Day, the number of the men-at-arms was augmented, and already treason was plainly discernible, when my son, coming to me, said, "Father, we must retire to the neighbouring castle, for the Bishop of Mayence will not receive you in the city as long as you are under the ban of the Holy See, and I dare not, while you are still unreconciled, cast you into the midst of your enemies. Pass your Christmas here in honour and peace, and have with you whom you please. During that time I will labour, as strenuously and faithfully as I can, for us both, for your cause is mine."

'"My son," replied I, "let God this day witness and judge between us. He knows all that I have done for thee, and at the price of what tribulations I have ministered to thy greatness; what enmity I have incurred and still have to contend with, thou knowest well." Then he, for the third time, in reply to this appeal to his oath and his honour, vowed that if any danger appeared he would offer his own head for mine.

'After he had thus shut me up in this castle, the event proved in what spirit and with what a heart he had made these professions. I am imprisoned with three of my people, and no others are admitted. They have

placed over me as guards my most implacable enemies. Blessed be God in all things; He alone is the Almighty King to raise up and to abase whom He will.

'On the most holy day of Christmas, the holiest of the holy, the divine child was born for the redemption of the souls of all, but this son was not given to me for even my own salvation; for, not to speak of affronts, insults, and menaces, of the sword held over my head, of the hunger and thirst I have suffered in the keeping of men whom it was hateful to me to see and hear, to say nothing of what is more cruel still, the remembrance of past happiness, this is what I shall never forget, this is the lament I will never cease to repeat to all Christians—During these most holy days; I, here in my prison, have been deprived of Christian communion.

'In the midst of this season of mourning and sorrow, there came to me a prince, Wibert by name, who was sent by my son to tell me that there was no security for my life unless, without the least resistance, I gave up all the insignia of royalty, in conformity with the orders of the princes. Then I, who, if I had the whole world for my kingdom, would not sacrifice my life for it, and well knowing that, whether I would or no, I must comply with what had been decided, sent to Mayence the crown, the sceptre, the sword, and the lance.

'My son then, in concert with my enemies, came from Mayence, where he left my friends, as if to conduct me thither, and having taken me well guarded by a numerous body of men-at-arms, to a place they call Engilzheim, he summoned me to his presence. I found assembled a great many of my enemies, and my son, who

was no better disposed to me than the rest. And as they thought they should be more sure and safe if they forced me to despoil myself, with my own hand, of the kingdom and the royal property to the last straw, they all threatened me that if I did not at once do what I was ordered, I must not count on my life. Then said I, "Since my life is in peril, and as my life is most precious to me, because I desire to do penance before God, I will do whatever you please." And as I asked whether I should then at least be sure of my life, the legate of the See Apostolic who was there present (I do not say he heard all that had passed) replied that I could in no wise escape from death unless I publicly confessed that I had unjustly persecuted Hildebrand, that I had unjustly set up Guibert, and that I had, up to that hour, practised an unjust persecution against the See Apostolic and against the Church.

'Then, cast down, and with hearty contrition, I began to entreat, in the name of God, that they would name a time and place for me to justify myself in the presence of all the princes, that if they should find me guilty in any point, they would, with the advice of the most prudent, decide on a mode of penitence and satisfaction, and order the same to be followed, taking meantime what hostages they wanted, to be chosen among our liege-men. But the same legate refused to name either time or place, saying that the matter must be settled there, and that they left me no hope of escape.

'Having asked, in this tribulation, whether, in case I should confess all that was prescribed, I should, as is just, obtain pardon and absolution, the legate declared he had no authority to absolve me; and added that if

I would be absolved, I must go to Rome and make satisfaction to the Holy See.

'Then, isolated and despoiled (for with the same violence and the same artifice they had deprived me of my fortresses and my patrimonial inheritance, and all I had purchased in the kingdom), they left me in that house. I had been there some time, my son having perfidiously told me that I must wait there for him, when I received a message from my faithful followers, warning me that if I stayed according to this injunction, I should either be imprisoned for life or beheaded on the spot.

'On receiving this intelligence, and fearing for my life, I fled, and came to Cologne; and after staying a few days there, I came to Liege. In these parts I have ever found the inhabitants true and constant in their faith and loyalty. By their advice and that of the rest of my liege-men, I have resolved as the safest and most honourable course to write and lay all my misfortunes before you; the safest because of our relationship and old friendship; the most honourable because of the glorious name of your great kingdom.

'I entreat you, then, in the name of faith and friendship, help me in my trials and wrongs, like a kinsman and a friend. Even if such ties of trust and friendship did not exist between us, it would behove you and all the kings of the earth to avenge my wrongs and humiliation, and to sweep from the face of the earth the example of such treason and wickedness.'

Other letters of the same date, and written by the same hand, attest Henry's deep affliction, and exhibit him knocking, as it were, at every door of the Church,

and everywhere repulsed. Such is the impression left upon us on reading a letter from him to that Abbot Hugh, so often mentioned in his history. It is in some respects the repetition of the humiliations with which we are acquainted; but nothing more clearly shows the deep abasement of the unhappy prince, and the nature of the tangled web by which he was surrounded.

'Henry, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans, Augustus, to the dear and well-beloved father Hugh, and all the brethren of Cluny, the tender affection of a son and the devotion of a brother, or, rather, the submission of a servant.

'Having always experienced thy kindness and fatherly solicitude towards us, so far as to believe that we have been often delivered from many perils by thy holy prayers, we have recourse to thee, most dear father, as our only refuge, after God, in our extremity; and we humbly seek from thee the alleviation of our misery. Would to God it were given to us to look on thy angelic countenance, and, falling at thy knees, to lean upon thy bosom the head thou didst support at the baptismal font, and lamenting our sins, to tell thee one by one of our many sufferings.' But as this consolation is denied us, not only by the distance that separates us, but by the inconceivable malice of our persecutors, with devoted affection we entreat thy paternity to read our humble letters, which, God is our witness, contain neither falsehood nor dissimulation, and to listen affectionately to the story of the monstrous and unheard-of treason which has ruined us.

'What renders it more astounding is, that it is no

servant, no enemy, that has plotted this inhuman and impious treason against us, but the son of our own body, who is singularly dear to us; so that we cannot repeat without grief those words of the Psalmist, flying before a son like our own, "Lord, why are they increased that persecute me?"

'Thou knowest, we believe, with what tenderly affection, in opposition to the wishes of many of our subjects, we raised this same son to the throne. On the day of his election he pledged himself to us, at Mayence, for the safety of our life and person, and swore that in all things concerning the kingdom and our prerogative, all that we possessed or may become possessed of, he would in nothing interfere during my lifetime contrary to my will or wish; and he swore the same oath on the cross, the nail, and the lance, before all the princes, when he was enthroned at Aix.

'But, neglecting and forgetting all these promises, by the advice of traitors and perjurors, he has so far separated himself from us that, seeking to injure us, our person, and property, he has from that hour sought to deprive us of our kingdom and our life, has besieged our camp and usurped our dominions, and has made all whom he could secede, in our own household or elsewhere, and take oath of allegiance to himself.

'O misery! while we waited from day to day in the hope that he, being touched with grief of heart, would come to repentance, he, all the more inflamed with the fire of treason, having no fear of God before his eyes, no filial reverence in his heart, has not ceased to pursue us from town to town, and to attack, as far as he could, whatever belonged to us.

'So we came to Cologne. Then, as he had himself proposed a meeting at the approaching Feast of Christmas at Mayence, having assembled our liegemen, we set out for that place. On hearing the news, he came as far as Coblentz. There, as he could do nothing against us by force, he had recourse to cunning and perfidy. He sent messengers to us to ask an interview, and we, having taken counsel with our liegemen, granted it. When we met, we, falling down at his feet, affectionately entreated him, for the love of God and his own soul, to desist from this unnatural contest with a father. Then he, on his side, with every appearance of peace and friendship, casting himself at our feet, besought us, with tears, to trust to his word, upon his soul. He was our own flesh and blood; we could not then hesitate to go with him to the projected conference. He was to conduct us safely to Mayence, to discuss with the nobles, as faithfully as it was possible, the interests of our dignity, and then, whether the debate were concluded or not, to reconduct us in safety to the place we should choose.

'These proposals being made and accepted, with the approval of our followers, we confided ourselves to the faith he had sworn on his soul, saying, "We trust ourselves to thy soul, relying on that commandment of God which imposes on a son to honour his father." Then he, giving us his hand, swore to us by the same pledge to respect our honour and our life. Having, then, no distrust of such words, we dismissed our followers, with instructions to meet us at the rendezvous, having sent orders to the rest of our faithful

servants to join us in the same place; and so we set out with him.

'On the road, we were secretly told that we were betrayed. When he knew what we had heard, he raved, and swore it was not true; and we trusted anew in his faith and his word. Next day, at nightfall, we came to Bingen. Next morning, he surrounded our quarters with troops, and informed us he should not take us to Mayence, but to a fortress. We then knelt to him and his companions, begging him either to conduct us to Mayence, according to his promise, or to leave us free to withdraw, and to return with all safety at the time fixed on. We received for answer that one thing only should we be allowed to do, namely, to go to the castle.'

Do not these remarkable letters read like a summary of Henry's life, and the mournful conclusion of his struggle with Rome? Do we not find there in them, at the distance of thirty years, the repetition of the scene at Canossa, the same weakness, the same religious timidity, joined to the same impatience and the same courage? Only the man has grown older, and is more bowed down under misfortune. The fall is greater, the injury is keener, the wound more cruel; it is no longer a question of rebellious vassals whose strokes are to be parried, whose weapons, stricken from their hands by the short-lived penitence of a monarch, that they may be attacked to better advantage; it is a merciless son, whom an unhappy father can do nothing to soften; it is the avenging spirit that Rome let loose upon Henry; a rebellion that, passing from the nation to his own family, stabs to the heart him whom it is fighting

face to face. Never has the pontifical power been more ...ibly shown forth than in this account written by the adversary whom it had smitten by the final anathema pronounced at the Pontiff's death. The shade of Gregory VII. fills this last scene: and never was the victory of the Church over the Empire, the recoil of Italy against Germany, of Rome against Mayence, better expressed than by that unnamed personage, that legate of Rome who was only actuated by the spirit of his Church, but whose unchanging words four times answered Henry's repeated supplications, and sent him, at last, so long afterwards, to expiate at Rome the exile of Gregory VII. at Salerno.

THE END.

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